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BRITISH RULE MUST CONTINUE

**THE COLONIES:
a Conservative
Point of View**

"Ordered Evolution" as the Best Colonial Policy

By Brig.-Gen. Sir Henry PAGE CROFT, Bt., C.M.G., M.P.

Brigadier-General Sir Henry Page Croft has been MP for Bournemouth for the last twenty years. He previously represented Christchurch from 1910. He served in the Great War. He has been chairman of the Executive of the Empire Industries Association and Chancellor of the Primrose League. He owns a coffee plantation in Kenya, and is a representative of the "die-hard" Conservative viewpoint.

PEACE is the greatest need of the world and those who are ready to risk war instead of seeking every possible adjustment of differences are indeed criminal and unworthy of the claim to statesmanship.

Because I hold these views I welcome the opportunity of examining the proposals which are made by some with regard to Colonial policy.

Roughly, they contend that the British Empire is far too vast and causes discontent and jealousy amongst other nations: that we exploit those territories and exclude other nations from participation in the advantages we receive; that we ought, therefore, to give up sovereignty in all the Colonies and hand them over to the care of some never-defined international body, whereafter peace would result.

Those who advance these views appear to have a complete misconception as to what the British Empire is, what are the aims constantly before its administrators and even as to the facts of its day to day economic activities.

of inhabitants can neither yet read nor write.

I have said sufficient to prove that the British method of ordered evolution has no relation to the old forms of Imperialism of former Empires.



NOW as to "exploitation." It must surely be realized that for a long period of years the British taxpayers actually had to find cash for the deficits in the cost of administration in nearly all the Colonies and that it is only in recent years that they have balanced their Budgets.

When there is a surplus, does it come into British pockets, does it even go to recoup us for past generous assistance? Not at all. Every penny goes back into the

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Cutting the sugar cane in the West Indies, typical of the valuable contribution of colonial territories to the amenities of civilized life . . . What ought to be the future relationship between primitive peoples and the Great Powers? In a series of articles "Peace News" is endeavouring to afford expression to the various points of view on this pressing problem.



A Jamaican says :

There is No Such Thing as An "Inferior Race"

THERE is no such thing as an inferior race, taking it as a whole. There are backward races just as there are backward children in a class; but the individuals of every race have the potential qualities that, given the opportunity, will produce similar results.

Every race has its contribution to make to the sum total of this life on earth; and the race that keeps down another economically, socially, or otherwise pays for it some time. "You cannot keep a man in the gutter without getting some of the gutter qualities yourself."

Exploitation of Africa

Africa has been the land most exploited at the expense of the negro.

One of the reasons for the last war was the fact that more land was wanted in Africa as an outlet for the European countries. One of the causes of future wars (unless we right-about turn) will be the same.

It is true that the coloured races have a capacity for endurance that is marvellous. It is also true that they have learnt to be long suffering. But there comes an end to all things, and even the worm will turn.



We in the West Indies are beginning to turn. For over two hundred years our ancestors suffered at the hands of their masters untold misery and degradation. Bad as this was physically, the harm done spiritually and psychologically was much worse. Liberation came 100 years ago, but

it will take a much longer time to undo the harm that was done.

The same applies to the United States. Had economic justice been given to the negroes at that time, by giving them land or money to start a new life, there would not be the bitterness that now exists. The white man in the Southern States of America and the West Indies resents the fact that he has lost the slave labour in the cotton fields or on the sugar estates which amassed his wealth. So he does the next best thing; he introduces a system of economic slavery which enables him to pay minimum wages for maximum labour. He regards himself as a superior being.



The negro today, who is beginning to think, not only resents this but is showing his resentment in a practical way. The West Indian riots and strikes tell their tale unmistakably. The negro feels that he has a right to be given the opportunity to live on the same economic and social footing as the white man. He has earned the right.

India's Claim

The Indian is clamouring for self-government because he also wants to get away from the feeling of superiority with which the white man regards him. He wants to work out his own salvation. There is no other way to do this.



Those who are working for peace between the nations of Europe must also turn their faces toward peace between races.

THE AFRICAN SHARE-OUT

After the Great War
GERMANY
lost

German East Africa
(384,180 sq. miles)

German South West Africa
(322,450 sq. miles)

Cameroons
(191,130 sq. miles)

Togoland
(33,700 sq. miles)

BRITAIN

gained
Togoland (Gold Coast),
(13,050 sq. miles)

Cameroons (part of)
(34,100 sq. miles)

German East Africa (Tanganyika Territory)
(360,000 sq. miles)

FRANCE

gained
Togoland (part of)
(20,650 sq. miles)

Cameroons (part of)
(157,030 sq. miles)

BELGIUM

gained
German East Africa (part of)
(24,180 sq. miles)

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

gained
German South West Africa
(322,450 sq. miles)

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Short Story

ALTHOUGH Patavia, that obscure South American republic, was again at war with her neighbour Metilla, she still found time to try her civil criminals.

The Patavian High Court of Justice was tense with expectation as the Judge took his seat and gazed fixedly at the prisoner before delivering the sentence. The muttering in the court died down as the ushers demanded silence. Only the whirring fans could be heard as they swept the cooling air through that stifling atmosphere.

Ricardo Cadena, the prisoner, stood upright in the dock, and though his face was pale there was the slightest suspicion of a cynical smile playing round his mouth. He—Ricardo Cadena—most peaceful of men, was about to be sentenced for murder.

He who had regarded his sabre-rattling fellow-compatriots with a pitying contempt, who had nothing in common with these brawling, strife-loving fire-eaters, was to pay the penalty for taking another's life. One could almost laugh, and say that it was all a joke—almost.

Sudden Murder

RICARDO was no true Patavian, for he hated violence. He hated this war, this senseless war which decided nothing except the realigning of a few kilometres of frontier, and destroyed men's lives to no purpose.

Yet he himself had destroyed a life—he who was normally so cool, so level-headed. People who knew him asked themselves time and again: How could this be?

Perhaps it would never have been—had not Ricardo fallen in love so passionately with Lucia and had he not discovered that she was faithless. The story was not a new one. Late one night he had found her and her lover together, and a cloud had passed over his senses. In five minutes it was all over.

But afterward, when he recovered from that first blinding shock of rage, from the swift wave of passion which had momentarily robbed him of his reason, he was dumb with horror to realize what he had done. He—Ricardo Cadena—a murderer... a murderer...

Seven Days

DEFENDING counsel had made the most of Ricardo's past character, had suggested that he had killed the man in the heat of passion, under the stress, perhaps, of a brain storm.

But Patavian law does not accept such justifications. Ricardo had killed a man. The penalty for that was death.

So it was that in the oppressive heat of the court, within the faint sound of artillery at the distant frontier, the death sentence was pronounced, and soon afterward Ricardo was led away to the condemned cell, there to await for seven days, by Patavian law—his execution.

There was much to regret, for Ricardo was otherwise a fine and loyal citizen. Still, the law had to take its course and discharge impartial justice...

But that week's respite was Ricardo's salvation. During the next few days the course of war changed rapidly, and Patavia became hard pressed.

More and more men were mobilized to stem the Metillan invasion, martial law was proclaimed, rigid conscription was enforced. Patavia now stood in desperate need of all her effective man-power—to such a degree that the Government was at last driven to the expedient of searching its prisons for fighting talent.

Certainly there was no lack of that in this quarter. Reprieves were offered as an inducement to men to enlist willingly—and the policy was fruitful. Men went gladly, even eagerly, with an eagerness which could not have been found outside Patavia.

"Fight Or Die"

RICARDO'S turn came at length, when he was visited by two military representatives. The offer was made bluntly, without finesse, as to one who was condemned to death in either case.

"Señor Cadena," said one, "we are instructed to inform you that, owing to the grave danger to Patavia, because of which we need every man to fight for her safety, the Government will pardon you, on condition that you enlist."

"It is most generous of them," said Ricardo, with an ironic bow. "I have, then, at least the opportunity of escaping from a certain death to a possible one?"

"Those are the terms," replied the other unemotionally. He was a plain soldier, whose duty it was not to think, or to bandy subtleties with prisoners, but to carry out instructions. "Yes" or "No" was all he required.

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REWARD FOR VALOUR

... The offer was made bluntly, without finesse, as to one who was condemned to death in either case:

"Señor Cadena, we are instructed to inform you that, owing to the grave danger to Patavia, because of which we need every man to fight for her safety, the Government will pardon you, on condition that you enlist"

Ricardo thought awhile. Of all things he loathed the army. He hated, with an intense hatred, this machine which destroyed men's bodies and brutalized their minds.

Even if he were himself a murderer he had at least murdered in genuine passion, not in the imbecile frenzy of the soldier, whose passions are artificially lashed by the cold and calculated propaganda of those in power. All his being shrank from the idea of identifying himself as a unit in the murder-machine—as a cipher subject to a discipline designed to take away a man's humanity and turn him into an unthinking, unfeeling robot of destruction.

Yet wherein was the choice? Life was sweet, at almost any price. One might stay here for a while longer and die the inevitable felon's death, whereas in uniform one had at least a chance of freedom and life. Certain death—or uncertain life...

Bah! What did it matter? But if there were a chance, why—he would take it. He stiffened in callous resolution. Moral quibbles were out of place now.

"Thank you, señores," he announced coldly. "I accept the Government's offer."

The Tide Turns

ALTHOUGH the training was necessarily brief, Ricardo found himself an apt apprentice at his new trade. He plunged bayonets into sandbags with a vigorous enthusiasm which quite gratified his instructors. He threw dummy bombs with passionate abandon. He began to handle a machine-gun with true military zest.

Then came the time when he was posted to his regiment, and he was at war in real earnest. Most of the earlier Ricardo was now gone. He was a soldier—a patriotic Patavian soldier. The short, but skilfully intensive training had seen to that.

And now the tide had turned again. Metilla was losing ground—and Ricardo's regiment was in the thick of the fighting, which had developed mainly into guerrilla warfare: hand-to-hand bayonet attacks and swift skirmishes by small mobile detachments.

Such warfare as this allows the sun of personal heroism to shine more brilliantly than does long-distance offensive, where one merely fires at an invisible foe and hopes for the best. Because

of this Ricardo on one occasion distinguished himself, and so immortalized himself in Patavia's heroic history.

It was when Ricardo's detachment found itself trapped between two Metillan companies.

The heat was terrible. The sun beat down mercilessly from a blue furnace upon a dry and cracked earth. As the detachment, stumbled for cover from the rain of shrapnel and bullets, many men fell before a temporary safety was reached in a shallow basin of land, where huge rocks and fissures afforded some protection from the Metillan enfilade.

The surrounded Patavians fought desperately amid a raking hail of lead and exploding shells which gradually and relentlessly reduced their numbers. Spasmodic charges from the Metillan infantry were still repulsed by devastating machine-gun fire and grenades, yet still they continued to attack, knowing that this isolated detachment was doomed to destruction. It was only a matter of time.

Behind his machine gun Ricardo crouched under the cover of a semi-circle of rocks, at a point of vantage commanding a wide sweep of ground over which the enemy must pass before they could reach him. Before they could approach sufficiently to hurl their bombs he was able to mow them down easily, for he operated his weapon with deadly efficiency. His body, wet and sticky with sweat, shook violently with the vibration of the discharges.

Scores of men dropped in their tracks as he sprayed them with his leaden death—and as they fell he thrilled with a certain mad exultation. Not that he had any personal hatred against these poor devils—no, no. That would be absurd. One does not hate ciphers—one merely disposes of them, according to orders.

Murder? Ah, well... He had committed murder once. What did a few more lives mean? In the intervals of silence, however, when his brain was cooler, he looked sombrely across the ground, where dead men lay scattered in all directions. Dead... by his hand. Of course, they were enemies, of no account... What did it matter?

Almost against his will, his eye sought out one of the bodies, not ten yards away. It was that of a youth—he could not have been more than eighteen or nineteen. He had dark curly hair

peeping from beneath his cap. His sightless eyes stared upward in a kind of pathetic wonder. His body was twisted grotesquely.

Yes—an enemy. A Metillan. Certainly, But Ricardo looked again at those white, youthful features, and knew that he could no longer deceive himself. He closed his eyes and turned away with a violent shudder.

HE was inactive for so long, deep in gloomy reflection, that he came to himself with a start when he realized that all signs of attack had disappeared, that the rumbling of artillery had ceased. He stood up suddenly as he saw three men approach. "Finished," said one laconically.

"Finished?" asked Ricardo dully. "How do you mean?"

"Metilla is finished. Reinforcements smashed these two companies, and we hear that the Metillan Government has called for a truce. Metilla is defeated."

"Good."

Ricardo gazed awhile at the plain in front of them. He had said "Good," but as a mere formality. It was a mechanical response. Victory meant nothing to him now.

"Where are the rest?" he inquired.

"The rest?" The man shrugged. "There are no others, except two more wounded over the way. According to the report, our detachment held up an important advance in this sector."

"So?"

"Yes. We are all heroes."

There was no conscious bragging. It was a plain statement. They were heroes. Ricardo smiled bitterly as he looked once more upon the dead—those silent witnesses of their heroism.

"Yes," he repeated quietly. "We are heroes."

Highest Honour

WHEN the final defeat of Metilla was announced, all Patavia went *en fête*. Cities and towns were resplendent with colour, brass bands played interminably, all-night revels were kept up.

But the greatest occasion was when the Presidente bestowed Patavia's honours upon the heroes of her victory. The great square in front of the Government building was packed with people, was ablaze with military splendour. The white walls of houses reflected a blinding glare from the sun, the air quivered and danced above the roadways and pavements.

Yet in spite of the fact that he was among those who were to be decorated for valour, Ricardo noticed none of these things.

He stood uneasily in an anteroom of the Government building, silent and aloof from the others, waiting for the Presidente to appear. A few short weeks ago they would have garrotted him for murder, but now...

He stepped out into the sunlight with the others to where the Presidente was standing. As each hero received his medal cheers and shouts rent the air and drowned the message of the loudspeakers. For here were the saviours of Patavia—the great and noble ones of the nation...

And when at last Ricardo stood to attention to receive the Cruz de San Pedro—that highest of all Patavian honours—he could hear nothing of the people's shouting. The Presidente's voice was a far-away drone in his ears.

He was conscious only of one thing: an image of a youth lying on a scorching plain, with sightless eyes and distorted white features, his uniform all dusty and bloodstained.

Ah—yes. He, Ricardo Cadena, was a hero. Did not the Cruz de San Pedro, now glittering on his breast, testify to that?

Who Controls the Press?

WHO controls the local papers in this country?

There are almost one thousand weekly papers, and a large number of local daily and bi-weekly papers. So far as my experience goes, the weekly papers are controlled largely by their readers.

I can remember that when Air Raid Precautions first came into public view they were eagerly seized upon by the local press as a good "story." As each district had its own local organization, the daily papers could not give adequate reports of how the precautions were working in every place. So the local paper had the chance of reporting something which was of both national and local interest.

I know that one local paper, published where there is an active PPU group, has given Pacifist activity more space than it really deserved, judged strictly on news value.

In talks to PPU groups I have asked them to get as much publicity through their local paper as possible. I should like every group to appoint one member whose job it was to see that the local paper was supplied with

By A Journalist

full reports of all their activities. I know (though I have no idea why!) that local papers are read carefully and thoroughly, and they are regarded as being more truthful than the national papers. They have to be, for deliberate untruths or distortions would result in such an outcry that the paper would have to reform or go bankrupt.

From the point of view of pacifists, the local press is more valuable than the national press, which is becoming more and more distrusted.

The main control upon the local press is exercised by the readers, but there is subsidiary control exercised by the various Government departments. The War Office sends out circulars "requesting" that a certain subject should not be discussed in the correspondence columns, as it might be against the public interest.

Then, also, the local Press was asked to maintain a certain reticence about air raid

precautions during the crisis.

It will have been noticed by now, however, that discussion of the inadequacy of Air Raid Precautions and the failure of certain local authorities to carry out all the measures suggested has taken up much space even in the national press.

To my knowledge, no suggestion regarding the suppression of Pacifist correspondence or activities has been made from any official quarters.

THE amount of Pacifist news and letters published depends upon how much is supplied to the paper by the local group. Local papers are understaffed, and cannot often send reporters to small pacifist meetings, which are often not advertised in the paper. But if someone sent in a report of a meeting, in nine cases out of ten it would be published especially if that report emphasized local activity and did not consist only of vague general matter.

So my advice to groups is: disregard the national press; appoint someone to send invitations to the local paper whenever a meeting is held; and send in reports of meetings if a reporter does not turn up.

A NATION UNDER FASCISM

Glimpses of Life in Northern Italy

By PETER COATES

VENICE was no disappointment; it was far more beautiful than I had dared to hope. This became clear as the gondola slowly carried me from the station, Santa Lucia, to my destination in the Basin of St. Marks.

As we passed down the Grand Canal, the main thoroughfare, I saw wonderful old stone buildings on either side, the architecture ornate but somehow very suitable. Every few yards there was a glimpse of one of the small canals, which are the side-streets of Venice. They run between rows of red-brown houses whose stucco is always peeling. Every few yards, small stone bridges arch steeply over the narrow canals, and I had glimpses of gondolas passing slowly down toward the main water-way.

The Grand Canal was a busy scene. There is a service of passenger steamers, or "vaporetti," which operate on it, and these are usually crowded. They are really the buses of Venice, while the gondolas are the taxis. The steamer landing-places are pontoons, served by a gangway, and it is interesting to see the crowd that collects in the little waiting-room.

In the morning, there is a large proportion of men, many of them officials with their inevitable document cases. Most men wear their jackets over their shoulders, cloakwise, and surprisingly few were in white, considering the heat at that time of the year.

Everyone wore sun-glasses. I remember sitting in one of these waiting rooms, and noticing the name of the landing-place. It was "Santa Maria Zobenigo del Giglio!"

Lovers of Music

I TRAVELLED a great deal on these boats, and talked to a great number of people. One young man was a minor official at the Casino, a new building on the Lido. He was a typical Northern Italian, a friendly, good-natured man, with a natural charm of manner. He was dreading the winter, he said, when Venice becomes a desert.

Like most Italians, he was a lover of music, and especially of the Opera. He asked me to make a point of going to Verona, to hear the People's Opera. This company travels all over Italy, apparently, and he was very proud of it.

My first night in Venice I shall never forget. In a gondola I moved slowly out into the Basin of St. Mark. There was a full moon, and the air was delightfully warm. Each gondola carried a flickering oil-lamp on its curved prow, and the light reflected dully in the calm water.

The Venetians have a wonderful custom which is still carried on, that of the serenade, and one was being held that night. There was a large rowing boat for the singers and the small string orchestra, and this was moored in the Basin, some distance from the shore.

All those taking part were friends, and had arranged the serenade days ahead. They went out to the boat in their gondolas, and as I drifted toward them, I heard their full rounded voices floating across the water. They sang old Italian folk songs, and of course many operatic arias. The serenades always last till very late at night, and the boats are always festooned with Chinese lanterns, making a beautiful spectacle.

On the train to Verona, I met an Italian woman who had lived for many years in London. She told me that her first impression, on returning to her home in Italy was that everyone shouted, instead of discussing things quietly. She remarked on this, and was told that just because everyone whispered in England, they were not going to start!

IN Verona I went to the People's Opera. The performance was in the Roman arena, which was restored in the fifteenth century, and it was a perfect setting. There was an audience of five or six thousand, for it was a huge arena and by no means filled. It was a very clear night, with a sky strewn with stars.

The crowd was buzzing with excitement

and anticipation, for it was the first performance of Verdi's spectacular opera *Nabucco*. It was very warm, and the orangeade sellers were handing out their bottles as fast as they could, for it is a popular hot-weather drink in Italy.

The Carabinieri were there in great numbers, for there was a huge crowd to control, and few exits. They were needed for traffic control also. These men were a picturesque sight in their cocked hats, dark tail-coats, and blue trousers with a broad red stripe.

Most people were hiring cushions, for they had to sit on the ancient stone steps of the Arena. They were deeply interested in music, and took the performance very seriously. There was much indignant "shushing" at the late-comers who arrived during the overture, and also when there was any noise in the audience at the commencement of a scene.

The applause at the end was terrific, and as I passed out in the huge throng, I heard many eager discussions.

The cinema is also a popular form of entertainment in Italy, and somehow it seemed strange to see familiar faces on the posters at the village cinemas. Apparently, as in England, American stars are very popular.

Friendly Atmosphere

A FEW days later, I went to a tiny mountain village in the Dolomites. It was about three thousand feet above sea level, and stood by a lake which was fed by warm springs. It was an ideal place for a com-

plete rest, and at the hotel I found a really international atmosphere. Czechs, Hungarians, Austrians, and Poles at last were real people, instead of names, for I met many of them. There were several Germans and Americans there too.

It is surprising how much alike all these people were. Looking at the assembled visitors in the dining room, one might easily have assumed them all to be of the same race. On meeting them, the only important factor was whether they spoke any language that I could understand.

The peasants in this village were poor, very poor. They really understood nothing about fascism. One could not call them fascists, they were simply men and women struggling to live under medieval conditions. They worked in the fields, kept a few goats, and grew vines. Some were charcoal-burners. Their land was mostly on the surrounding hills, and at their foot.

While I was there, the hay was being brought in. It was mown by hand, and gathered by hand. Then it was tied in huge squares of sack-cloth, and piled precariously on mule carts, which crawled down the rough winding tracks to the village.

The children were very timid, and begged mutely with cupped hands. There were very few young men to be seen. They had been conscripted, in most cases unwillingly.

I have never seen such beautiful scenery as in Italy, and I found the people delightful, too. What a pity they have been misled into imperialism, and into fascism!

This is the second of a short series describing everyday life in other countries.

A Reader Suggests:

International Control for the Colonies

AN invitation by the colonial Powers to international cooperation in the administration of the territories they now govern separately would, I believe, command the support of the Labour Party, a large number of Liberals and members of the National Government, all peace organizations, supporters of the League, members of the Churches, and humanitarian people of all nations.

If the mandatory system of developing backward peoples is desirable for certain countries, then consistency demands an extension of it.

International control of the African colonies does not imply handing over the control of any territory to Germany, but it would involve invitations to Germany and Italy to an international conference to review the colonial situation, with a view to a settlement by negotiation.

From such an international conference, a reconstructed League of Nations should materialize, under a different name, if need be. A revised permanent Mandates Commission, unlike the present one, would formulate policy.

This revolutionary reform in colonial administration would involve what Lord Lugard recommends in his letter to *The Times* of November 23, "complete equality of commercial opportunity"; that is to say, free access to raw materials and to markets for manufactured goods, the absence of any

restrictions on emigration, or on the investment of capital, on racial grounds.

The education of native peoples would be vigorously carried on with the aim of enabling nationals to be employed much more in the civil service, thus reducing the excessive cost of foreign administration.

Africans would be trained in the art of self-government, so that free peoples might develop alongside the white races, instead of heading for race hatred. Any system of control in the interest of the governing Powers inevitably leads sooner or later to racial hatred.

Military training of Africans would be ruled out, as would also the creation of military bases.

Could such a settlement be achieved, we could anticipate a permanent peace, economic rehabilitation, and the way cleared for disarmament.

It is quite possible that self-interest, generally pursued in carrying out the imperialistic aims of the various European Powers, especially in Africa, was prominent among the causes which led to the catastrophe of 1914. It may quickly bring about another, more complete, catastrophe, unless some settlement of the colonial question can be reached, equitable firstly to the native peoples concerned and secondly to the desire for expansion on the part of the progressive Powers.

JAMES A. ROSS

A Message from Prison

FRENCH C.O. CALLS FOR PLAN TO RESIST WAR

AS many readers will have responded to our recent suggestion that they should send greetings to war resisters who are spending Christmas in prison because of their resistance, the following will be of interest and will come as a reply to such greetings.

It consists of extracts from a letter received by Reginald Reynolds from the French member of the War Resisters' International, Eugène Lagot, while he was a prisoner at La Santé, Paris. He was jailed on a double charge.

The first charge was that he refused to respond to the calling-up notice he received in the September crisis. The second, based on an article he wrote four years ago, was that he incited soldiers to disobedience.

The leisure and meditations of prison allow me pleasant memories of a more or less distant past. It is thus that I have been led to think of one of our friends, Barthélemy de Ligt [Dutch war resister who died this year], with whose ideas I always associate you . . .

Too many pacifist papers dedicate 80 per cent of their space to discussing *ad infinitum* the rights or wrongs of this or that country, the liberty and the democracy of this nation and the dictatorship and autocracy of the others.

ONLY ONE PEOPLE

But everyone knows that this is a matter of the futile labours of Penelope. There is no innocent nation, there is no government without guilt in the struggle of imperialist rivalries. There is only a single people, on either side of the frontiers, oceans and mountains, which is called upon to commit mutual murder for objects which are foreign to itself.

Why, therefore, continue to discuss eternally questions of nationalities, whilst new chains are being forged for every people, whilst pacifists are imprisoned in democratic France, whilst in liberal England slavery and conscription are in preparation?

The events of September found, as in 1914, the people unprepared to resist . . . They said in France that England and France were not ready—the war would not take place till later. In that moment (1939 or 1940) Franco-British imperialism will be ready! Will the pacifists be ready?

WANTED: A PLAN

It is here that the Plan of Resistance of B. de Ligt would find its *raison d'être*, with or without modification. . . . It is natural that the plan will not be to everyone's taste. But it would be deplorable that for this reason alone no plan should be prepared and that we should permit imperialism to organize our massacre without doing anything . . .

In my opinion it is therefore necessary that those of you who are best qualified should get together urgently a committee of "integral pacifist" organizations in order to set out in detail a plan immediately realizable in case of war. . . .

It would be criminal to have foreseen nothing. It would be unpardonable to have done nothing but deliberate when the danger was so imminent. . . .

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You can suppress the pain by drugs, or remove the cause with Garlic: the natural antiseptic way. No better remedy for rheumatism than garlic in sufficient quantity is known to medical science.

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A War-Child's Letter To Herr Hitler

DEAR Herr Hitler,

From 1914 to 1918, between the ages of seven and eleven, I was taught by the propaganda department of the British Government to believe that Germany was inhabited by sub-human monsters who waged war for the pleasure of raping the enemy's women and mutilating his children with saw-edged bayonets before crucifying them on gunwheels.

No-one now under 30 in England could have read the contemporary "eye-witness" accounts of Hun savagery as they appeared in the newspapers and illustrated magazines.

The "Big Bad Wolf" of my childhood was an obscene-featured German soldier with bloody hands, tossing a Belgian baby on the point of his lance, or carving off the breasts of a girl, while his comrades roared approval and begged him not to be greedy so they might have a turn at the torture.

On the night I saw tracer bullets tearing into Zeppelin L31 near Potters Bar I cheered the destruction of its load of ape-like criminals who had lusted for the blood of children like me but were such cowards that they had to be forced, even to do the work they loved, at the point of a machine-gun—not the sight of Captain Mathy and his comrades burning alive over my head.

In the summer of 1917 I saw Germans for the first time—four prisoners helping with the harvest on a Hertfordshire farm. As my playmate and I turned a corner of a hedgerow we came on them suddenly, standing on a rick. One, who held a thatching needle, pointed it at us and laughed.

Sick with fear we ran until we collapsed in tears in the garden of my home. We knew we had escaped torture and death only because we could run so fast.

When the science master told the sixth form at a neighbouring school that they must not believe all they heard and read about German troops and that many were fine brave men who hated war as much as the English, a boy, whose 19-year-old brother had just been killed in France, walked out of the room. The other boys followed him.

There was a meeting of parents and Governors. The following week the science master resigned to avoid dismissal.

This was the foundation and substance of four years' education in war.

In 1923, when you made your abortive putsch at Munich, I left England for the first time to stay with new-found friends in Bavaria and learn my first lesson in international affairs . . .

That the Germans with the English and all the common people of all the nations desolated by the unspeakable carnage of war were innocent of all the lies which drove them to destroy one another.

Five years after the Armistice I found the Rhineland occupied by my countrymen—the Ruhr and Palatinate by the French and their coloured troops.

I shared the meagre food of the poor people who had invited me to be their guest. They showed me their rickety children, their bodies slowly starved by the Allied naval blockade which had been continued into 1919 and which killed and crippled scores of thousands of women, babies and non-combatant men.

The wife of one of my hosts, who had fought for four years in France, had died in childbirth as a result of that blockade.

I saw an infinitely small portion of the suffering of millions who were not responsible for the War, and who, when their country was starved into submission, were punished with blind cruelty by politicians of the victorious nations who believed their victorious electors wished them to squeeze still more blood from the white wounds of the conquered.

And I was ashamed to be a part of a country which I had always been taught to believe set a standard of civilized conduct for humanity.

I was ashamed because I believed that what I had seen was a betrayal of my countrymen who had been killed, wounded or made insane by the War, and of all the men and women of all nations who had died or suffered for a just world—because I believed the Allied politicians were

hideously wrong in their treatment of your countrymen and because I believed they did a wrong not only to Germany but to England, France and the entire civilized world.

As late as 1923 they could have laid the foundations of a happy Europe. Your people were desperately anxious to help them in that work. Your putsch of that year failed because Germany could not yet believe that the Allies would never voluntarily relax the grip on her throat.

But inevitably the Allies drove you to power; inevitably they led you into the Rhineland and Austria. Inevitably the Czecho-Slovakia they had made was unmade; inevitably the Nazi child they hate and fear was born—a miscarriage of their own injustice.

I am a socialist and a pacifist. The Germans in Bavaria who first showed me the suffering of your country were all men who had fought bravely in your trenches and they were all socialists, pacifists or Jews.

I believe, with T. E. Lawrence (of Arabia), that you were necessary to the resurrection of Germany and to the world, because what the victors would not accept by force of reason and compassion you compelled them to accept by the only language to which they would listen—the language of force.

Now, at last, you have them where you want them—in a position where, for the first time since the War, they must treat

Germans as equals again.

The overwhelming majority of my countrymen want friendship with Germany.

I believe that now you have an opportunity of becoming the most constructive individual statesman of Europe. But I also believe you are in new and terrible danger of defeating your own aims.

The persecution of the Jews and your political opponents has revolted the overwhelming majority of my countrymen and will inevitably estrange them from Germans again.

I believe your weakness lies no longer in the strength of your former enemies but in yourself. I believe that if you will now treat all your countrymen as you wished them to be treated in 1918, with humanity and justice, nothing can prevent the statesmen of other nations from giving to Germany the complete justice you have demanded and for which you and other German leaders have worked so long.

Unless you are now quick to realize this fact, which is obvious to the least-informed Englishman, Frenchman or American, whatever his politics or religion, and which no protestation of Dr. Goebbels can dispel, you will inevitably cut the ground from under your own feet and dig, not the foundations of a stronger Germany or better international life, but the grave of all the hopes of all the friends of your people throughout the world

Stuart Gelder

PEACE VOLUNTEERS FROM SIXTEEN NATIONS

Sixteen nationalities were represented among the 140 people who worked in services arranged in Great Britain by the International Voluntary Service for Peace during 1937-38. Membership of the IVSP increased from 1,356 in 1937 to 2,318 in 1938.

The scope of the work undertaken during the year is indicated by the fact that 18,000 tons of earth have been moved in the improvements work at Oakengates; £300-worth of milk have been sent to Spain. Increased activity has been made possible by an income augmented by nearly £300.

These facts were given in the reports of the secretary and treasurer at the annual general meeting.

The IVSP was started by Pierre Céréssole as an alternative to military service in conscriptionist countries. It now has 20 regional secretaries in Great Britain; national headquarters are at the Lydden Terrace, Leeds, 2.

Nazi Peace Offer?

It is believed (reports the *Daily Express*) that Hitler will appeal for disarmament and world peace in a speech before the Reichstag on January 30 (the sixth anniversary of the Nazis' rise to power).

Anglo-German Trade Talks

Official discussions, with a view to increasing trade between Germany and Britain, may be held early in the New Year between the Federation of British Industries and the Reichsgruppe Industrie, which represents organized German industry.

It is literally impossible to publish all the letters we receive.

Other things being equal, letters of not more than 200 words stand the best chance of publication.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Americans Urge Government to Aid Czech Refugees

YOU were kind enough at the beginning of November to reproduce a telegram sent the undersigned to the President of the Minneapolis Branch of the United States Women's International League, which ran as follows:

"Implore Minnesota urge Washington temporarily enlarge Czech quota to admit proportionately 3,000 Sudeten German Democrats"

We subsequently heard from Mrs. Woodard Colby, the Minneapolis President, that she had immediately approached Governor Elmer A. Benson of Minnesota on this matter.

We have just received from her the enclosed copy of Governor Benson's letter, together with her reply [reproduced below].

If you can find room for this correspondence, we think it should be of great encouragement to those working on behalf of the Social Democrats in Czechoslovakia to know that influential groups in Minnesota have already gone to work to try to get the Czech quota to the United States enlarged.

We approached the matter in this particular manner not only because Mrs. Woodard Colby is a personal friend of my own, but because Minnesota and Wisconsin are the two States in the Union having the largest proportion of naturalized German citizens.

VERA BRITTAIN.
GEORGE CATLIN.

2, Cheyne Walk,
Chelsea, S.W.3.

Following is the correspondence referred to:

From Elmer A. Benson, Governor of Minnesota, to Mrs. Woodard Colby, President of the Minneapolis branch of the Women's International League.

I have carefully weighed the question of what kind of action might be most effective in securing the objective you mention, namely, an enlargement of the Czech quota for admission to this country, in order to protect the 3,000 Sudeten Germans, whose loyalty to the Czech Government makes their future residence in the Sudeten intolerable, while at the same time Czechoslovakia is restrained from taking them in.

I certainly have no hesitancy in issuing such an appeal to Washington, but I have come to the conclusion that it might be more effective if done under the following conditions:

I should appoint a small committee (three to five persons) composed of Minnesota residents who were either born in Czechoslovakia or else are Czech descendants who have been in close touch with their nationalist organizations in this State. When I appoint these three to five persons, I can give the announcement of these

appointments to the press, along with a brief message, and simultaneously send to Washington, along with the members of the committee, the appeal you request. This will give the maximum amount of publicity and force to the appeal.

If you approve of this course of action, will you please advise me?

From Mrs. Woodard Colby to Governor Elmer A. Benson:

Your most kind and thoughtful response to my appeal on behalf of the Sudeten German minority reached me only to-day, and I hasten to assure you that I think your proposed course of action is a very wise one. The source of the request for an expanded Czech quota for the time being will obviously be a group of Minnesota Czechoslovakian people.

A plea from them to our Government to save a portion of the Sudetens who stood loyally by the Government of their homeland regardless of the consequences should have particularly strong significance, especially when coupled with your own personal appeal to Washington.

With sincere thanks for your interest and sympathetic support in this tragic problem.

A Pacifist Statesman

Here in Blackburn the centenary of the birth of "Honest John Morley" is being celebrated with a good deal of interest. Born on Christmas Eve, 1838, he rose to literary and political eminence not only by his high qualities of brain and will but also a grace and nobility of soul that sweetened and influenced all his work.

His birthplace is a stone's throw from where I write, and many of the details of his life are familiar to me, my grandfather, who died at the age of 94, being a contemporary of his. His achievements in the literary sphere, as a writer in the *Saturday Review* and later as Editor of the *Fortnightly* and *Pall Mall Gazette* are well known. Probably as a biographer he was at his best. How many of this generation have read his *Life of Cromwell*, *Life of Richard Cobden* and *Life of Gladstone*?—all works demanding a vast amount of research and scholarship.

His achievements as an orator and statesman from the time he entered Parliament until he was elevated to the Lords, and later Lord President of the Council, again are too well known to need repetition.

In 1914, on the outbreak of War, Morley came to the dividing of the way. A true humanist, his breadth of outlook and love of mankind ruled out any narrow nationalism or nasty action. He resigned from the Cabinet rather than relinquish the principles of pacifism and the settlement of

international problems by conference and conciliation which he had believed in for a lifetime.

I believe it is men of this type who, more than anyone else, have made our Peace Movement of today possible, so let us honour them.

JOHN SHARPLES.

36 Northgate,
Blackburn.

Love on the Dole

Scene: A furnished (?) room, 9 feet by 8 feet, (within a mile of the Bank of England) containing a single iron bed, two wooden chairs, a small table, and a gas cooker. Rent 15s. a week.

Characters: Harry Hardcastle, aged 22.

His Helen, aged 18.

Baby Helen, aged 5 weeks.

Harry's dole has been "knocked off." Helen has just drawn hers (12s.) part of which (10s.) has gone in part payment of the rent. (Leaving £1 in arrears).

As the curtain rises Harry and Helen are seen sitting on the bed having their dinner, which consists of three pennyworth of rolls, out of a paper bag. (Their first meal for the day.) Baby Helen is lying on the pillow whimpering. (Mother's milk produced from such a diet is evidently not very satisfying).

The banns are up and they are to be married in a fortnight.

Who will help us to write the next act? (Harry begged me with tears of desperation in his eyes and I have promised).

We are anxious to furnish a decent bed-sitting room for them which they can call their own.

This can be done for about £5 and the rent cut by about half.

Unfortunately there are still numberless Sam Grundys, willing no doubt, to help at their own price.

As D. H. Lawrence wrote:

"Oh, it's time the whole thing was changed, absolutely. And the men will have to do it—you've got to smash money and this beastly possessive spirit. I get more revolutionary every minute, but for life's sake."

CHARLES STUART.

The Good Companions, City of London FPU Group, 13, Paternoster Row, London, E.C.4.

The Part the Individual Can Play in Building the New World Order

IT seems to be clear that a world at peace is going to be a world organized as a unity, with machinery expressing that unity; that there will be a League of Nations or peoples who will have renounced national sovereignty in all vital matters; that the production and distribution of goods, the exploitation of the soil and of the natural resources, the movements of populations, the regulation of working conditions, besides transport facilities, health services, and the like, shall all be the common concern of governments acting together in these matters for the common good.

The details of the machinery necessary need not concern us now. But I take it for granted that a world commonwealth will need a government and the appropriate organs for the fulfilment of its purposes, and that national foreign policy will consist mainly of cooperation in these world-scale enterprises for the common well-being.

THE problem is a spiritual one; it concerns man's conception of his relation to other men; it concerns his whole vision of what is the true purpose on earth of such organizations and groups as governments and nations and races.

In the disasters of this last generation, both our unity and our lack of unity have been revealed. We are already living as citizens of a unified world as far as disaster is concerned. We have had a world war and a world economic blizzard and financial anarchy.

Isolated destinies no longer exist among the nations, the repercussions of events, direct or indirect, from one end of the earth to the other are as unforeseeable as they are inevitable. By its catastrophes the world is discovering its unity.

IT must be the mission of the present generation, if a peaceful commonwealth is to be established, to show that peoples can stand together as well as fall together, prosper together as well as suffer together, work and live together as well as fight and die together; and the unity that is revealed in disaster must become the foundation of our peace and well-being.

How can we help to bring that about?

WHAT CAN BE DONE

Firstly we can do more than we have already done in discovering and revealing the unity that already exists. We must also make ourselves acquainted with the vast amount of inter-governmental cooperation that already exists in the administration of various services, beginning with the International Postal Union that was set up more than fifty years ago, and immensely extended, since 1919, in the technical, social, and humanitarian activities of the League of Nations.

SECONDLY, we must be clear in our minds so that we may help to clarify others, as to the causes of the breakdown of the first attempt to build machinery for the world commonwealth—the League of Nations.

It seems to me that the present generation has fallen into the same error concerning political relationships as our Cobdenite ancestors did concerning economic relationships. It was held by a certain school of thought, in the nineteenth century, that if trade were world-wide, peace would be assured—that world peace would automatically result from a system of universal free trade based on the natural division of labour.

It is easy for us to see the fallacy—that so long as trading operations are based on rivalry and competition a mere extension of these operations could only lead to an extension of the rivalry and did in fact lead to the economic imperialism which did so much to intensify the already existing political rivalries between nations.

COOPERATION IN TRADE

The fact that trading cooperations have become world-wide in their scope makes it imperative that the spirit and purpose of trade should be transformed from competition in the acquiring of profits to

cooperation in the organization of well-being. national differences can be sunk in constructive work."

Similarly, with the world-wide range of our political contacts which became crystallized in the League of Nations. We fell into the error of assuming here that political activities would lead to world peace merely because they were world-wide in their scope. We have learned now that unless statesmen transform their whole conception of international relations from one of rivalry to one of cooperation, a League of Nations merely provides little more than a wider scope for intrigue in pursuit of selfish national ends.

THE same is true of everything that comes under the heading of international contacts. There is nothing conducive to peace about them by the mere fact of being international. It depends on the attitude of those making the contacts.

We must press home the moral of all this—that the nature of man's attitude to man and the whole purpose of his activities must be transformed, before his world-wide contacts can bring world-wide peace and prosperity; and the very fact that his activities are world-wide makes it imperative that the nature and purpose of them should be so transformed.

WORDS NOT ENOUGH

It is not enough to speak. We have in the manifold international services upon which we embark the instrument to hand by which we can demonstrate that men and women can surmount all barriers of race and language and can devote themselves in harmony to the achievement of common purposes. Is it worth while considering whether we can make further experiments in this direction?

[The speaker went on to suggest that existing international relief work—inspired by natural disasters—might be extended so as to give 'active demonstrations of the way in which

If we feel that part of our responsibility for the building of the world commonwealth can be discharged by setting up working models of international cooperation in constructive work, we are led to a further consideration.

INTER-ALLIED economic cooperation in wartime was possible only because there was a strongly perceived common purpose—that of winning the war—which made us all willing to accept such a revolution in our economic organization. As soon as the war ended, the building of a world commonwealth was not a strongly perceived common purpose, and the whole organization, which many had seen as the indispensable economic basis of the League of Nations, fell to the ground in the stampede back to what was called normalcy.

Part of our work then must lie here. If men and women and governments are to be brought together to build a cooperative commonwealth it will only be because they are fired by common purposes in the light of which their differences will sink into insignificance.

The world commonwealth will be built by men and women everywhere who have seen clearly some fraction of the great purpose of God and have devoted their lives to its fulfilment. That responsibility lies deeply upon us all.

INDIVIDUAL'S PART

Lastly, I wish to suggest that if we are to play our part in the building of the world commonwealth we must live as though we were already members of it.

This is again partly a question of education. Let us see that at least the children in our schools are aware of our mutual interdependence. Already in Empire Day celebrations the contributions of dominion and colony to the general life of the British Commonwealth are represented. How easy

it would be to extend the organization of such celebrations to include the contributions to the world commonwealth of all the members of it. The practical step would be easy—but what a mental revolution would be involved in taking that step!

It is partly, too, a question of imagination, of the spiritual faculty of identifying ourselves with the suffering and also with the highest aspirations of others.

When I suggest that we should live as though we were already members of the world commonwealth, I do not wish to imply any sort of flat denationalized cosmopolitanism. Our personal lives and our national lives, with all their rich diversity of talent and experience and vision, must be brought to their highest pitch of excellence, so that our first fruits and our best gifts can be brought to the service of the world commonwealth.

Only in that service can national diversities and national pride cease to be sources of strife. Only in the world commonwealth will patriotism find its purpose.

John A. Kay

The above was extracted from John A. Kay's introductory address on "Our Responsibility for the Building of the World Commonwealth," at the Special Yearly Meeting held by the Society of Friends, in London, last month, to reaffirm its peace testimony.

Silent Pickets Hold Up Scrap-Iron for Japan

Chinese organizations in San Francisco organized picketing of two ships—one British, the other Greek—which were loading scrap-iron for Japan.

The picketing was carried out silently, men and women bringing food with them to eat during their stay on the waterfront. The sympathy of the longshoremen was attracted, and loading of the vessels ceased.

The employers of the longshoremen persuaded them to resume work by recalling an agreement by which they had undertaken not to resort to such strikes. Though the effort of the Chinese was finally unsuccessful, their leader declared: "This is just the beginning of our movement."

the great capitalists in Japan, once so powerful, are losing millions of yen through loss of trade due to the war. They might help, eventually...

Tell-Tale Cakes

AT Yokohama I took the electric train from Yokohama to Tokyo, a run of only forty minutes. Tokyo was very much alive and the pavements crowded.

Along all the main streets the large number of cake-shops were much in evidence, their wares as beautiful and tempting as even a French pâtisserie could show. Despite a firm intention to work up a hunger for a ruckus dinner later in the evening, I was soon at a table gazing at the plate of cakes before me.

Here were cakes as they should be made, fancy without being sickly, substantial but not stodgy. I bit at one. Instead of wheat-flour it was made with rice flour, and the result was horrible. I remembered what my Kobe friends had said about the shortage of wheat. But I was happy as I paid the bill and left. Underneath the sugar coating I had discovered one of the secrets. I had even shared in the sufferings of a war-stricken people.

At breakfast next morning we told of our experiences. One man had told his taxi-driver to take him to a particular shrine, but had landed up at the Naval Museum instead. For some time he admired the oil paintings of all Japan's old sea battles, he peered at scale models of her battleships, he pressed buttons and watched working models of guns in action and aeroplanes flying off the deck of their carrier. Then he was suddenly surrounded by polite officials who asked him please to come for one small moment to the director's office. They asked him why he came to Japan, why he came to that museum, why he pressed those buttons. They concluded eventually that he was not a spy, and they beamed, they bowed, they spoke softly and pleasantly. The director himself insisted on personally conducting their visitor on an hour's tour of the museum, explaining everything in detail.

As we left Yokohama that day a P. & O. boat came in, flying the flag of the Imperial Japanese Mail. Wherever that boat goes, there are Japanese lines that follow the same route—and yet they put their mail in a British boat with which their boats compete and are heavily subsidized to do so.

Maybe it had been four years instead of four days in Japan I might just have begun to understand these paradoxical people.

David E. Spreckley

INSIDE A COUNTRY AT WAR

NAGASAKI—Kobe—Yokohama—the three routine stops of the "Empress" liners—a few hours ashore at each, treated as a tourist and acting like a tourist. The result is a medley of superficial and often contradictory impressions.

IN the pouring rain we lay at anchor in the entrance to Nagasaki harbour. To be allowed ashore for a few hours one has to undergo a cross-examination by the immigration authorities which is as ludicrous as it is embarrassing.

After one and a half hours they came, spread out their papers, sprinkled their spies around the lounge where we sat, and began.

They were busy counting when we woke next morning. Some twenty lighters lay alongside, covered by a swarm of coal coolies, male and female. As they shovelled the coal into baskets and passed them up by human chains to empty into a row of holes in the ship's side, working in unbroken and rhythmic motion, the view from the deck above was like a close-up of an ant heap. But these were human ants, working on a black heap, and they would be paid twenty sen a day for it. They started that coaling at dawn and finished at five in the afternoon, and their work brought them the equivalent of three pence each.

Cameras Forbidden

NAGASAKI itself is an industrial port and uninteresting, so four of us took a taxi over the hill to a fishing village in the next bay where the manager of a little hotel greeted us effusively.

His trade had dropped 75 percent since the war started and he did not get many tourists now.

Fine white breakers could be seen across the bay where a beautifully wooded promontory jutted out to sea; the village of light-framed, delicate houses crept close on to the curving beach where lay the fishing sampans.

It would have made a pretty photograph, but no camera could be produced—we were in a "fortified zone." It is not safe even to bring a camera ashore at any of these ports. Any one of the inhabitants—even our friendly hotel-keeper—if he had the faintest suspicion that a camera lay in some visitor's pocket, would run immediately to the nearest policeman.

IN Kobe I walked around the town, down side-streets and alleys, through the poor districts and the rich, in search of any signs of a nation at war.

I looked for starving people, for faces showing sadness or depression, but found none. The shops seemed full of food, the fruit and fish looked particularly good and cheap. There were not many men of military age to be seen, however—that was the only sign visible on the surface. But neither were there any soldiers about. Only the dead or wounded return from China.

I had lunch with a member of the foreign community in Kobe and asked him his views. "The distress is there under the surface," he said, "there are many things that they may not or cannot buy, and there is such a long list of contributions they are compelled to make to various war funds. It's beginning to make them think a bit now too." He pointed to a weedy little man crossing the road, "That sort of fellow, the clerk type, and the students too. They have realized that their newspapers are dishing them up quite false propaganda and they are wanting to know more of what is really happening."

But so far no anti-war feeling has blossomed into public action. Above are the war-lords, below are the peasants who neither know nor care what is happening but go gladly to die for their emperor if so ordered, believing it glorious and right to do so.

It would be very difficult to start a revolution from the middle of such a sandwich. But yet all

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THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION welcomes all who accept the pacifist doctrine, no matter what their approach. Its activity is not confined to the registration of those who are opposed to war, but promotes and encourages a constructive peace policy. Members are attached to local groups designed to achieve a communal peace mentality and extend the influence of pacifism by propaganda and personal example. Give your pledge on a postcard:—

I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another.

Sign this, add your address, and send the card to The Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1.

The Editor's Point of View

THE REAL ISSUE

TEMPERED still, no doubt, to some extent by the Christmas spirit, the struggle between those who believe they know what must now be done to make peace, but who differ about it, will gradually get going again. According to Sir Archibald Sinclair in the House of Commons just before it adjourned, that issue is between those who thought, with the Prime Minister, that peace could be secured by appeasing the dictators with concessions, and those who believed that these one-sided concessions only whetted their appetites, increased their self-confidence and sense of power and destiny, and stimulated the invention of fresh grievances;

between those who thought, with the Prime Minister, that it was only if war was inevitable that it was necessary to throw the whole efforts of the country into preparations for defence, and those who believed that the existing international order and our own rights and liberties were so seriously threatened that although war was not inevitable we ought, nevertheless, to make that great national effort, including a Ministry of Supply, now;

between those who, like the Prime Minister, were apparently willing to pay any, or almost any, price for friendship with Germany and Italy, and those who said that the terms of friendship with Germany and Italy should be consistent with respect for the rule of law and the liberties of Europe.

But there is a third point of view. It is a point of view which believes in making "concessions to justice," not to threats. If such concessions are delayed till the sense of injustice issues in an irritation and impatience that threatens to express itself in war, it is part of the price we must pay for so serious a mistake that it tends to encourage the recipient to believe that only through power can he get even his just demands met. And having put him in that position, we can hardly blame him if he discovers (as if our own history had not already convinced him) that power holds possibilities beyond the righting of wrongs.

It is a point of view which absolutely rejects "preparations of defence" as understood by the phrase. If war were inevitable—or even possible—it could only be because there was (a) something to war about, (b) something to war with, and (c) someone willing to do the warring. The removal of any of these conditions needs so great an effort that "preparations for defence" are rejected if only "to throw the whole efforts of the country" into removing the occasions of war. But they are also rejected because of a profound belief that they are quite incapable of defending either "the existing international order" (if that can be said to exist) or "our own rights and liberties"—at any rate to the satisfaction of our children, let alone their children.

It is a point of view which sees: friendship, law, and liberties in the light of its attitude to appeasement and defence, rather than in the light of rivalry, fear, and strategy which is still supposed so widely to be the only possible basis of international—and, indeed, of national and social—relations.

If the war method is to be retained as an instrument of (defence) policy, it would seem obvious that no effort should be spared to perfect it, unless it be to weaken any against whom it might conceivably be used.

But the abolition of the war method, though at present counting only 123,000 convinced supporters in this country, is not only gaining support daily but is believed by vast numbers more to be the policy which must, sooner or later, be adopted if peace is to be assured. Yet they go on supporting arms because they think war possible, if not inevitable. That is why those who really believe there is a better way must start by removing the most easily removable condition of war—by ensuring, as far as possible, that there will not be enough people willing to wage it.

But too many, having personally renounced war, end there. If the second condition of war—something to war with—is the least likely to make men want to war, the most likely thing to have that effect, and the thing that now most hinders the effort to gain more war-resisters, is something to war about. And that is why the second step must be an effort to remove the occasions of war.

The forms this might take are almost endless. But lest this very fact bewilder the pacifist out of all activity, it is well that the National Peace Council, in collaboration with the Peace Pledge Union and many other organizations, should have provided a piece of work which all can help. The national petition for a new peace conference "directed toward remedying the economic and political conditions likely to lead to war" has already met with a most encouraging response. It is to be hoped that all those who have renounced war will not only sign the petition but will be found among the most active in the new drive for signatures in the New Year.

Humphrey S. Moore

THE FUTURE OF DEMOCRACY

By John Middleton Murry

I HAVE formed one good resolution for 1939: that I will try to find out before I get to the end of it what I mean by Democracy—that is, all that I mean by it, when I say to myself, as I frequently do, that Democracy is a very precious possession. I intend by that statement a good deal more than that the existing system of government in England is precious. It is, of course. But I have never been able to forget that Democracy voted for squeezing Germany until the pips squeaked and that a concert of Democracies were responsible for the Treaty of Versailles.

Democracy, at any rate, is on the defensive today. And probably that is the time when we shall seriously concern ourselves with what it means.

Up to the last war it was not questioned that Democracy was a highly desirable form of government, and it was generally taken for granted that when Democracy was universal the millennium would not be far off—"the parliament of Man and the federation of the world." Indeed, the only immediate problem was "to make the world safe for Democracy," because democracies were pacific, as autocracies were always aggressive.

Democracy a Luxury?

THAT there is something in all this, is true enough. But how much there is in it is hard to determine. The democracies showed themselves pacific in September last. But there was little solidity in the expectation that the world would turn democratic. The reverse process has been in evidence. Italy threw over Democracy after half a century of it, Germany after less than twenty years, Russia did not try it at all, in Spain it has to contend with a civil war. It looks as though most great nations incline to the idea that democracy is a luxury they cannot afford.

When we have cut away the rhetoric of the modern mass-autocrats, their criticism of democracy would, I suppose, reduce to this: that democracy was too big a clog upon national efficiency in the modern world. If one were to ask them what they meant by efficiency, they might reply: concentration of the national energies, the capacity to exert the maximum of power in any direction, and for any purpose.

And there is no denying the force of the criticism, once you accept the criterion. To overcome the force of the argument you must criticize the criterion. If the capacity to exert the maximum of power in any direction and for any purpose is the supreme end of national existence, then democracy is an inferior system of government. Unfortunately, the democracies themselves have never consciously repudiated the criterion.

The reason for this is that they had power before they had democracy. They have not had to assert themselves to win national unity, or places in the sun. These things they possessed already. So that the concentration of the national energies has rarely in fact been a matter of primary concern for them.

Towards Efficiency

IT is coming to be so now, and by all the signs it will be so increasingly in the future. And as that pressure insidiously and steadily increases, the nature and value of democracy will increasingly become a matter for heart-searching in the democracies themselves.

It is not so much that the existing system of democracy will be directly challenged—though that has come fairly near to happening in France, since the advent of Hitler—as that the administrative necessities of organization, for production and defence, will steadily encroach on the individual's habitual sphere of freedom. And since these developments of organization will by the vast majority of people be admitted to be necessary, they will receive, without much demur, the sanction of democracy.

So the democracies will become "efficient," in the sense aforesaid. Is that a good or a bad thing? Often we talk as though it were definitely a bad thing; but I think that notion derives from an exaggerated notion of our existing liberty. In itself a more integrated social and economic organization seems rather good than bad. Anyhow it is bound to come, if simply to avoid disintegration. The real question is rather: how much of the valuable liberty that is vaguely connoted by the word "democracy" can be preserved, or even extended—and how this can be done?

The Position Reviewed

LET us review the position. Democracy as a political form, which is all most people definitely intend by the word—let us call it primary democracy—will be retained. We shall come nearer and nearer to a planned economy, democratically controlled. But what will the democratic control amount to, as we are going now? Not to very much, I fancy. Democratic approval would be an apter phrase: for the working of the administrative machine will become more and more autonomous, and the margin for alternative policies less and less.

So that in fact, if democracy is to retain and increase its vitality, it is not so much the big formal pattern of primary democracy that we shall need to be concerned

about, but the vague complex of "democratic liberties." And we shall need to be much more realistic about these. These will, for example, be no overt diminution of "the freedom of the press"—which means simply freedom from government interference in the newspaper business; free trade in wads of printed matter—but if in fact it becomes increasingly difficult to find means of utterance for independent opinion, we may find ourselves like the dog who dropped the bone for the shadow.

Responsible Freedom

WE know all this, says the Communist: there can be no positive freedom of the press in capitalist society. That is true. But it is equally true and more significant that there is not even any negative freedom of the press in the only Communist society extant.

What is involved in creating a positive freedom of the press is, I think, a clue to what is required to save the substance of democracy. For a positively free journal demands that a body of voluntary supporters should, for this purpose, cut themselves free from the economic relations of a capitalist society. They must cease to regard their journal as a competitive capitalist commodity: it becomes a product of their own cooperative effort.

And this is merely a type of the voluntary association, acknowledging mutual obligations which completely transcend those of existing society, which I believe to be necessary if democracy is to be kept alive. Primary democracy is no more than a large-scale pattern of the responsible freedom which democracy exists to establish and extend.

Under primary democracy society as a whole possesses responsible freedom. But society as a whole is chiefly governed by its own inertia. It is the responsible freedom of groups that matters. They alone, by their influence and example, can humanize not only the spheres of social life which lie outside the scope of planned economy, but the planned economy itself. In fact, I believe we need to imagine and create the democratic counterpart of the party-organizations which play so decisive a part in the social and political life of the totalitarian countries—an association of voluntary associations subscribing to the common aim of making real the responsible freedom of members of a democratic society.

THE STANDARD QUESTION

A Christian carrieth two kinds of persons, namely a believing or a spiritual person, the other a civil or temporal person. The believing or spiritual person ought to suffer and endure all things; he neither eateth nor drinketh; he begetteth no children, nor hath share and part in and about such doings and actions. But the temporal and civil person is subject to temporal rights and laws and is tied to obedience; he must maintain and defend himself and his according as the laws and rights do command. Now if in my presence and sight a wicked wretch should presume to force my wife or maid, as then truly I would lay aside the spiritual person and would make use of the temporal; I would slay him in the act or call for help.

Martin Luther. *Table Talk*.
Ed. John Aurifaber, 1569. Tr. Henry Bell, 1646.

"Another favourite question asked by militarists is the following: 'What would you do if you saw a stranger break into your house and try to violate your wife?' This question might be answered as follows: 'Whatever else I might do—and it is quite evident that I should become very angry and try to knock the intruder down or even to kill him—I should certainly not send my brother to go and poison the man's grandfather and disembowel his infant son.' And that precisely is what war consists of—murdering, either personally or (more often) through the instrumentality of others, all kinds of people who have never done one any sort of injury."

Aldous Huxley. *An Encyclopedia of Pacifism*, 1937.

"Overmastering Madness"

We are mad, not only individually, but nationally. We check manslaughter and isolated murders, but what of war and the much-vaunted crime of slaughtering a whole people? . . . Deeds that would be punished by us by loss of life when committed in secret, are praised by us because uniformed generals have carried them out. Man, naturally the gentlest class of being, is not ashamed to revel in the blood of others, to wage war, and to entrust the waging of war to his sons, when even dumb beasts and wild beasts keep the peace with one another. Against this overmastering and widespread madness philosophy, has become a greater effort, and has taken on strength in proportion to the strength which is gained by the opposition forces.

Seneca. *Ad Lucilium*, Epistle XCV, c. 63.

CHRISTMAS GIFTS BRING NEW HOPE TO REFUGEES

National Petition Campaign Gets Into Its Stride

THE campaign for the National Petition for a New Peace Conference—organized by the National Peace Council in conjunction with the Peace Pledge Union and other national societies—has met with a good response during the period which ended with Christmas.

The fact that an initial drive was made to secure as many signatures as possible by Christmas does not mean that the campaign has now ended. Far from this being the case, a very largely developed drive will take place all over the country about the middle of January. It is hoped that the bulk of the work will be completed before the end of February.

Forms already sent out allow for more than 7,000,000 signatures.

POSTER PARADES

Leaflets and posters have been specially prepared for use in connexion with the petition campaign and are obtainable from the National Peace Council, 39 Victoria Street, S.W.1, or from the headquarters of cooperating organizations.

Special poster parades in connexion with the petition will leave Peace Pledge Union headquarters (96 Regent Street, W.1) at 6.45 p.m. and 8.45 p.m. on Saturday, January 7, 1939.

Volunteers intending to take part should send their names to the PPU, 96 Regent Street, as soon as possible.

OXFORD DEMAND

A fortnight's campaign to secure signatures to the petition culminated the activities of the Oxford University Pacifist Association last term. The work was undertaken in connexion with the University Peace Council and resulted in

"Oi!"

THE Lambeth Libraries Committee granted permission for the West Norwood group of the Peace Pledge Union to have a table in the public library for two weeks, for the collection of signatures to the National Petition for a World Peace Conference.

1,359 signatures being secured, i.e. over a quarter of the university.

During the course of the campaign Vera Brittain addressed a crowded meeting on "Constructive Peacemaking" and urged her hearers to support the petition. She also put forward proposals for dealing with the problem of refugees, and in this matter, too, members of the association have not been idle. About twenty have been able to offer hospitality to refugees, and in addition enough money was collected to keep three refugees from Sudetenland in a house which the owner generously provided for the purpose until permanent arrangements can be made for them.

TERM'S WORK

The term started with the warscore still predominant in people's minds, and in these circumstances it was fortunate that the first two speakers discussed the fundamental bases of pacifism. Nigel Spottiswoode started the term with an exposition of the philosophy of pacifism, and this was followed by a speech on the Christian basis of pacifism by the Rev. R. H. Le Messurier.

Wilfred Wellock discussed the economic aspects of post-war history with special reference to the rise of Hitler, and urged the necessity for a constructive economic policy if the world was to be saved from subjection to a small group of imperialist powers of a totalitarian nature.

J. D. Beresford spoke on the psychological causes of war and T. Edmund Harvey on "The Constructive Work of a Pacifist."

Mr. Maxwell Garnett, formerly secretary of the League of Nations Union, appealed for as much cooperation as possible between pacifists and other sections of the peace movement.

A branch of the Fellowship of Reconciliation is associated with the OUPA and was privileged to have a two-day visit from the General Secretary, the Rev. Leslie Arting-stall.

Gratitude for British Pacifists' Gesture

BUT RELIEF IS NOT ENOUGH: THOUSANDS MUST LEAVE

BELOW we print the first account to be received of the gift distribution in Czecho-Slovakia under the auspices of the Peace Pledge Union.

It is from David Spreckley, who is organizing the distribution jointly with Mrs. E. M. D. Benjamin.

PRAGUE, Christmas Day. THIS Christmas gesture of the Peace Pledge Union has been completely successful and those who gave money may be assured that every penny of it was worth its weight in gold to the refugees. But the greatest value to them lay not in the gift itself so much as in the hopes for the future that it contained for them.

Their present conditions, unbearable as they are in many cases, are relatively unimportant. If they all had feather beds and five-course meals they would still be the most wronged and unhappy people in Europe today, for what is important to them is their future, life itself.

SUDETEN PRISONERS

At present they are hardly living; time has stopped for them; they are surrounded by blankness with a bigger blankness in front of them, filled with a terror that every hour may be their last, that at any moment the police may come to herd them back over the frontier into Germany or else put them into concentration camps in this country.

These Sudeten Germans cannot stay in this country; although they are still citizens they are not allowed to work and never will be. Except in rare cases the Czech authorities make no attempt to conceal their desire to be rid of them.

One group told me how they had been spat on in the streets of Prague. In another camp, where there is a Czech in charge, they are treated like prisoners, have to be inside by six o'clock, are not allowed into the town, and may have no visitors.

147 IN ONE ROOM

I have seen 147 people in one large room, families all together without even a suggestion of privacy. In one place where they are in an old castle three of the twenty children have died of diphtheria and a fourth is dying.

If they are allowed to cook for themselves, which is seldom, they get 4 kronen (7d.) per head per day food allowance and are far better off than those who have their food provided. The rooms and food are provided by the Czech Government; for everything else they must wait upon the Lord Mayor's Fund. Slowly, bound by red tape and in a typically English manner, this Fund is providing them with clothes, indoor games, medicines, &c. But it was started in October and still there are people without any shoes or warm clothes.

Our Christmas gift has taken the form of cash for the adults and chocolates and oranges for the children. A little pocket money is what they wanted more than anything, and it was pathetic beyond words to see the joy with which 10 kronen (1s. 6d.) was received by men who must have been good wage-earners for the past twenty years or more.

MENTAL TORTURE

But, I repeat, it is not that they are fed like pigs and treated like dogs that is so terrible, nor is there any cause for contentment that their conditions are now being slightly improved. Continuing the zoological analogy, they feel themselves caught like rats in a trap, and so they will be unless they can be quickly brought out.

Slowly, much too slowly, they are filtering out. About one thousand have gone in

three months. The rest, always hearing vague rumours and promises that never materialize, are in despair. Always they ask the same questions: "Where can we go to, where do they want textile workers, a doctor, china painters, &c. . . ." "When will England let us come in?"

One young man, strong and well built, broke down and cried like a child as he told me of their continual hopes that were forever being dashed to the ground. Another old lady with tears streaming down her face clung to my hand, stroked my cheek, and kept saying: "For the children's sake, for the children's sake. . ."

BRITAIN MUST HELP

But their courage under this mental torture is really wonderful. These are the most real socialists I have ever met; these are the people who have stuck to their principles in face of all the threats of Nazidom; and it is they who have been sacrificed so completely by Chamberlain at Munich so that England should have "peace."

For myself and for the PPU I have promised, as any other human being visiting the camps would have promised, to do everything that is possible to get these people out. For the majority England can only be a clearing house, but for all it means safety and hope. Five thousand is not an unmanageable number; five thousand can and must be got out of Czecho-Slovakia in the next few months.

This Was The Appeal

Gifts being distributed were received in response to an appeal made by Vera Brittain, George Lansbury, J. Middleton Murry, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Max Plowman, and Maurice Rowntree, in the following terms:—

"The coming Christmas will be one of peace for Great Britain. But for thousands of refugees in camps in Czecho-Slovakia there will be no festivities. The position of these unfortunate people approaches desperation. The efforts of the Lord Mayor's Fund and other charities are assuring that they will not actually starve.

"We are therefore appealing for donations of such articles as fruit, sweets and chocolate, jams, preserves and canned goods of all sorts. Cigarettes, tobacco and pipes, wool and woollen goods, games and toys for the children, small musical instruments, razor blades, and elementary English text books.

"It is important that such gifts should be suitable for transport, and that they should contain a maximum of usefulness for their size and weight. They will be distributed in Czecho-Slovakia by our own representative, who will see that they are given in the direction where they are most needed."

Summer School In Denmark

A "summer school" for peace workers and the leaders of Christian pacifist groups in various countries will be held during the fortnight commencing at Whitsuntide next year (May 28) in the Island of Fan off Esbjerg, on the North Sea coast of Denmark.

It is proposed to limit the number of courses to, say four in each week, so that everybody may attend all of them. There will be full opportunities for close discussion and also for private consultation with capable teachers.

Already Dr. Siegmund-Schultze, Professor Charles E. Raven, Miss Muriel Lester, and Henri Roser have expressed their hope of being present.

The number of places will be limited and early application should be made to the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, 16 Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.

CONFERENCE ON THE ECONOMIC ROAD TO PEACE

JANUARY 26th-28th, 1939

FRIENDS HOUSE, EUSTON ROAD, LONDON

Preliminary programme with application form for membership now ready.

HOW GROUPS CAN HELP:

- (1) Send at least one delegate to the full conference. (Fee Five Shillings).
- (2) Take advantage of half-day excursion facilities to bring a party to the Final Session.

FINAL SESSION

CENTRAL HALL, WESTMINSTER, SATURDAY, JANUARY 28th, at 8 p.m.

Admission by ticket. (1,000 seats at 1/-; 1,000 free seats.)

Speakers:

ARCHIBALD CRAWFORD, K.C., BEN GREENE, Mrs. PETHICK LAWRENCE

To the Secretary, E.R.P. Conference

Date.....
The Dick Sheppard Memorial Club, King's Weigh House, Thomas Street, London, W.1.

Please enrol me as members of the Conference.

Block Letters Name.....
Address.....

I enclose Cheque { for.....
P. Order {

Signature.....

CHRISTIANS EVERYWHERE ARE AT LAST TURNING TOWARDS PACIFISM.

Hasten this movement by reading and circulating

"THE CHRISTIAN PACIFIST"

the new issue of "Reconciliation," obtainable through all newsagents or direct from 17, Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

3d. per month. 1/- per quarter or 3/6 per annum, post free.

A SPECIMEN COPY WILL BE SENT FREE TO ANY P.P.U. GROUP LEADER WHO WRITES FOR IT.

Next Week
FACTS ABOUT
ITALY'S CLAIMS

A German Once Wrote This on

THE BROTHERHOOD OF ALL MEN

The following is a copy of a document handed to British prisoners of war released by Germany at the end of the Great War.

Contrasting its remarkable freedom from bitterness with the spirit of Germany's leaders today, we must ask ourselves how far this change is due to the Allies' failure to secure a just peace, so hopefully envisaged in the message below.

★

THE war is over! A little while, and you will see your native land again, your loved ones, your friends. You will once more take up your accustomed work.

You have suffered in confinement—as who would not? It was the fate of every prisoner in every prison-camp in the world to eat his heart out with longing to chafe against loss of liberty, to suffer from homesickness, brooding, discouragement, blank despair. The days, the weeks, the weary years crept by, and there was no end in sight. There were many discomforts, irritations, misunderstandings.

★

YOUR situation has been a difficult one. Our own has been desperate. Our country blockaded, our civil population and army suffering from want of proper sufficient food and materials, the enormous demands made upon our harassed land from every side—these and many other afflictions made it impossible to do all that we should have liked to do.

In the circumstances we did our best to lessen the hardships of your lot, to ensure your comfort, to provide you with pastime, employment, mental and bodily recreation.

It is not likely that you will ever know how difficult our circumstances have been.

We know that errors have been committed and that there have been hardships for which the former system was to blame. There have been wrongs and evils on both sides. We hope that you will always think of that—and be just.

★

YOU entered the old empire of Germany; you leave the new Republic—the newest and, as we hope to make it, the freest land in the world.

We are sorry that you saw so little of what we were proud of in the former Germany—our arts, our sciences, our model cities, our theatres, schools, industries, our social institutions, as well as the beauties of our scenery and the real soul of our people, akin in so many things to your own.

But these things will remain part of the New Germany. Once the barriers of artificial hatred and misunderstanding have fallen, we hope that you will learn to know, in happier times, these grander features of the land whose unwilling guests you have been. A barbed wire enclosure is not the proper point of view from which to survey or judge a great nation.

★

THE war has blinded all nations. But if a true and just peace will result in opening the eyes of the peoples to the fact that their interests are common—that no difference in flags, governments, speech or nationality can alter the great truth of the fraternity of all men—this war will not have been fought in vain.

If the peoples at last realize that it is not each other who are their enemies, but the ruthless forces of imperialism and capitalism, of militarism of all sorts, of jingo journalism that sows falsehood, hatred and suspicion, then this war will not have been fought in vain. Then peace will not be established in vain.

★

WE hope that every one of you will go home carrying a message of good will, of conciliation, of enlightenment. Let all men in our new epoch go forth as missionaries of the new evangel, as interpreters between nation and nation.

The valiant dead who once fought against each other have long been sleeping as comrades side by side in the same earth. May the living who once fought against each other labour as comrades side by side upon this self-same earth.

That is the message with which we bid you farewell.

The Price of Ceylon Tea

AFTER the abolition of slavery, the Indian workers on the tea plantations in Ceylon were in the grip of the Tundu system, which meant practical serfdom under the name of freedom. This penal contract system was abolished finally in 1921. By the present system, the labourers, who are still Indians imported to Ceylon, work on a monthly contract.

Because of the Discharge Certificate Agreement between the planters, no worker can get work with another planter unless he has a discharge certificate from his last employer. The labourers only receive their starvation wages at the end of a month, so they are, from the start, in debt to the planter or his agent, the kangany. Although to withhold a discharge certificate for debt is illegal, it is admitted in official reports that this is often done and that kangany encourage labourers to get deeply in debt to have a hold on them.

More cruel methods are used. In the official government reports we read that "The enactment of a provision . . . to render the separation of or the attempt to separate families an offence is still under consideration."

NOR is physical violence a thing of the past, as the annual complaints and appeals for protection show. Are such measures surprising in view of the fact that inspection is practically non-existent?

In any case the scales of justice are heavily weighted for the white planter (about 85 per cent. of the estates are run by British capital) against the coloured labourer. The Government Report says: "No action was taken against the employers

who were unable to give the required amount of work to the whole of their labour force on account of the exceptional nature of the situation, for if the labourer insisted on his right to get six days' work he was faced with the prospect of being discharged."

This was during 1936, when the price of tea rose by 6½ per cent.

The same judicial weightage is evident in cases of violation of the law by paying less than the legal minimum. Defendants who plead guilty are warned or fined ten or fifteen rupees (a rupee equals 1s. 6d.)

Civil Liberties

IN Ceylon the system of "company house" is carried to its logical conclusion. Not only are all the workers' dwellings the property of the planters, but the roads leading to them, so that there is no "right of way" to the workers' houses. It is, in fact, a criminal offence to visit a worker in his home without the permission of the planter.

The "Report on Labour Conditions in India" pointed out how this weakened the workers, who, they stressed, are faced by powerfully organized employers, and urged that progressive employers should lead the way by giving full freedom of access to the workers' lines.

Are there any progressive plantation owners in Ceylon who have extended this elementary freedom to their workers? Attempts to elicit information on this point have been met by evasive answers or embarrassed silence, and one is forced to conclude that there is no plantation in Ceylon on which this freedom exists.

Wages and Conditions

NOR is it surprising that the planters are able to enforce conditions which one would hardly think possible except under outright slavery. The

minimum wage (taking the average for the different districts) is 8d. for a man, 6½d. for a woman and 4½d. for a child. There is an extra allowance for every child under ten for "one good unstinted meal every day," the estimate of the Planters' Association for this being one farthing per child per day.

Planters are also forced to provide free schooling for the estate children, the school-going age being from six to ten years, the minimum session two hours per day, and the quality of the teachers commensurate with this.

As with the Labour Laws, evasion is evidently winked at, since the most recent official report (1936) declares that out of 72,858 children of school age only 39,647 actually attend school. Sanitation, housing, water supply, health services, &c., are on the same deplorably low level, and are, in fact, in many cases simply non-existent.

THERE is no simple solution to the situation; it needs fundamental and far-reaching changes.

Since, as we have seen, the central point is the lack of freedom which prevents the workers from organizing to defend their rights, the first point must be the demand for the right of way to the workers' houses and for the freedom of the plantation workers to organize in trade unions. This demand we should push forward wherever and whenever we can.

Since the British TUC has now expressed its interest in conditions in the colonies, we can use our influence in the unions to press for something practical to be done. What is needed is closer and more effective cooperation between the British TUC and the TUC of Ceylon.

This could be extremely valuable to coloured trade unionists, especially in preventing the worst forms of victimization in the first stages of trade union work.

To organize and foster support for such demands is true work for peace. For there can be no peace or security where such exploitation rages unchecked.

Amy Moore

National Service

More Answers From 1916 C.O.'s

BELOW we give the last of a selection of representative answers to the following questions, asked by the Tribunals in 1916:

- (a) Assuming that your conscientious objections were established, would you be willing to undertake some form of national service (other than your present work) at this time of national need?
- (b) What particular kinds of national service would you be willing to undertake? (state all the different kinds.)
- (c) Have you, since the war broke out, been engaged in any form of philanthropic or other work for the good of the community? If so, give particulars.
- (d) What sacrifice are you prepared to make to show your willingness, without violating your conscience, to help your country at the present time?
- (a) If you are not willing to undertake any kind of work of national importance as a condition of being exempted from military service, state precisely your reasons; and also
- (b) How you reconcile your enjoying the privileges of British citizenship with this refusal.

Clement Bundock replied:

1. (a) and (b). After two years of this terrible struggle, I am impressed with the urgent need for an immediate peace that shall save the nations of Europe from absolute ruin. My daily work (and the work of my leisure hours) is being devoted to the endeavour to secure the opening of peace negotiations.

From whatever point of view the conflict raging over the Continent may be regarded, I do most sincerely believe the greatest national need to be an honourable peace by negotiation rather than the continued shedding of blood. I am doing what I can to hasten that negotiation, and to leave that work to perform some other kind of work (though it may be useful work and work that in times of peace I could perform conscientiously), would appear to me to be a step away from my peace ideal, and a step toward a position in which I should be acquiescing in the work of militarism.

That seems to involve disloyalty to my conviction of the work that I am morally bound to perform.

WORKING FOR IDEALS

(c) Since the war broke out I have been actively engaged in a propaganda, the lines of which I have indicated by my replies to the preceding question, that I believe to be for the good of the community.

I have also given my energies to an agitation to secure Government control of the food supplies, which would lessen the oppressive burden of the high cost of living upon the masses of the people; to secure adequate allowances for the dependents of soldiers and sailors; to prepare for the proper treatment of soldiers and sailors when they return; to prevent the accumulation by certain persons and interests of high

profits out of the national needs; to safeguard the rights of free speech and public discussion of vital questions; and to maintain that condition of liberty and freedom in this country that our soldiers are said to be fighting in Europe to defend. This, I think, has been work essentially "for the good of the community."

(d) If my right to continue to live and work for these ideals is not admitted, I can only hope I shall be found ready to endure the consequent sacrifices rather than be false to them.

2. (a) This question is answered in my replies in question 1. Further, I object to the non-combatant services equally with the combatant. The machine for destroying human life is, unhappily, more efficiently organized than any civil enterprise to save and to nourish life. The non-combatant services (even though some branches may appear superficially to be for the purpose of saving life), are part of that efficient organization, and are maintained in order that the great work of destruction may be more thoroughly pursued.

If the destruction of life were abandoned for the nobler work of developing life, those services would find no field for their labours. As I am very deeply opposed to the prosecution of war and the destruction of life, I cannot consent to take part in the activities of the military machine.

(b) I have always endeavoured to re-pay what privileges I may have enjoyed as a British citizen (and one is compelled sadly to admit that those privileges are in serious jeopardy today) by doing what I could to assist those movements which I thought were directed toward the highest happiness of the people, and that I conceive to be the supreme duty of the loyal citizen.

Clement Bundock was then Sub-Editor of the Labour Leader.

Beverly Nichols Gets His Answer

For indulging in satire at the expense of Esperanto, Mr. Beverly Nichols has been taken to task by a contributor to *The Worker Esperantist*.

Mr. Nichols had said it was what a man thought which mattered, not the words in which he expressed his thoughts. He had written the words "You're a fool" in three languages, saying "they all mean the same thing, but fortunately their meaning is hidden from two-thirds of the world."

"It has apparently not occurred to Beverly," commented *The Worker Esperantist*, "that there are other things one can tell a man besides 'You are a fool.' You might, for instance, wish to tell him that he is a fellow man into whom you have no wish to plunge a bayonet—even though the press lords, through their hirelings, are working up another hate campaign."

"Nor has it dawned upon Mr. Nichols' subtle intelligence that Esperanto might change a man's thoughts, might, in fact, go so far as to change him from a petty nationalist to a citizen of the world."

The Worker Esperantist is published by the Workers' Esperanto Movement, 159, Shudehill, Manchester, 4.

Talks on War Resistance Abroad

INFORMATIVE group talks arranged by the War Resisters' International Group of Speakers have been fixed as follows:

- January 2. SOUTH KENSINGTON; Kenneth Clark.
 " 6. ILFORD; Sydney P. Larcombe.
 " 11. TONBRIDGE; Sydney P. Larcombe.
 " 15. ROCHDALE; Alfred T. Stone.
 " 18. GRAVESEND; Sydney P. Larcombe.
 " 25. RUISLIP; Miss Mabel Baker.
 February 1. PECKHAM; Sydney P. Larcombe.
 " 24. COULSDON; Kenneth Clark.
 " 21 or March 8. HARROGATE; Denis Riley.
 March 7. READING; Sydney P. Larcombe.
 " 22. BATH; George H. Lockett.

On dates to be fixed:

EYNSFORD; Sydney P. Larcombe.
 BEDFORD; Eric T. Roach.

Any other groups in or near London, or in the Bristol or Manchester area, wishing to hear about the work for war resistance being done abroad, should communicate with: Sydney P. Larcombe, 6 Cavendish Avenue, Sevenoaks, Kent, or Grace M. Beaton, General Secretary, War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex.

SPEAKING PERSONALLY

The Machine—Servant or Master?

ALL this talk about ideal societies, Utopias, pacifist communities, &c., is usually just so much wet steam. What is visualized? Certainly the means employed determine the end... but it is expedient to talk in terms of actualities, spoons, potatoes, &c.

After all, what can a man do? He can grow food and eat it, make a house and live in it, keep a horse and ride it, spin some wool, weave it, and wear it. His sphere of what he can do with enjoyment is distinctly limited. But specialization, centralization, is another pattern altogether. A man spins all day and has nothing to wear at the end of it; builds houses and sleeps on the Embankment.

Centralization has not only swindled man out of his full range of experiences, doing different things, personal things and a variety of them (building, planting, spinning, weaving, cooking, riding, &c.) but it has also denied him the fruits of his specialization. There's the chef at J. Lyons who was undernourished, the Bradford girl with nothing to wear, the motor mechanic walking to work, the market gardener eating Heinz beans. (And at the farms near me, the milk goes to the factory every morning with the unhappy result that the kids get powdered substitutes.)

Gandhi will never get freedom for India. It'll be Mr. Gandhi and the spinning wheel...

★

THE advantages of centralization are: (1) economy of labour; (2) economy of design; (3) economy of plant; (4) economy of time. The question is, is economy valuable *per se*? And parallel to that who economizes?

The saving of labour has meant unemployment. And it has also meant the concentration of wealth in one district at the expense of another district.

The mass produced article certainly represents an economy in design; it is an advantage to have screws standardized. The same can be said for gramophone needles, &c. But what about living in a style X house wearing type Y suit, eating grade Q food, reading the everybody's book of the month for everybody?

Economy of plant has meant that the actual production is in the hands of a few. It doesn't much matter whether these are capitalists or commissars. The capitalist can exploit the worker for himself and the commissar for the State. In neither case can the worker go and make a spade when he wants a spade. . . . Also centralization of plant has meant that a vast district is just factory at the expense of all the other parts of community life. Factories tend to congregate at the expense of the playing fields, &c.

Centralization is economy of time. But that is of little value *per se*—at any rate for the average man; for he has twelve hours to spend and it's not as if he knew what to do with those anyhow.

The basic evil of centralization is that it has forced a division: work and leisure. In other words, grind and nothing-to-do. The local Thatcher has his own hours; there is no division in his work.

It is not grind; it is productive leisure. The blacksmith, talks and tells a tale with everybody who brings a horse in with the result that at the end of his day he is not a mere container for cinema refuse.

★

THE modern war machine could not exist apart from industrial centralization. It is in effect the result of the head and shoulders of centralization. The man who refuses to shop at Messrs. Selfridge's or at Woolworth's does more than sign a peace pledge.

Obviously there is nothing wrong in or with the machine. It is the use of it, and to be aware of the evils of centralization doesn't mean that one must therefore logically renounce all the products of the machine, i.e., screws, &c. It is a question of discrimination; working from the principle of: the maximum amount of efficiency with the minimum amount of centralization.

To put it in terms of actualities: there are some things which should be scrapped altogether. The manufacture of them is mere human waste:

bombers; silk stockings; railings; and hats;

banks; cosmetics; 99.9 percent of books; 99.9 percent of plays, films, cinemas, magazines and pamphlets; 70 percent of body-clutter (ties, stays, waistcoats, beads and bracelets); 70 percent of house-clutter (umbrella-stands, knick-knacks, ornaments, &c.); 80 percent of cars and fancy building materials; newspapers, and coke.

All dress designers, house wallpapers, patent medicines, betting pools, hairdressers, mammoth shops, and de luxe hotels could just as well be slung overboard. They are social cancers. The parasitic professions:

moneylenders, brokers, jobbers, lawyers, house agents, and all the mass of middle-men.

The above clearcut might make room for the essentially social professions:

Ronald Duncan is the fourteenth writer under the heading "Speaking Personally." This is his final article. Next week will appear the first of three articles by

RICHARD B. GREGG.

doctors, poets, nurses and carpenters, makers of good musical instruments, blacksmiths and sculptors, &c.

Or you can put it this way: (1) there are some articles which can be produced by the individual in the unit of his home:

vegetables, wool, honey, eggs, yarn, preserves, &c.

(2) Things which can be produced at a village depot:

buildings, cloth, paper, iron spades, furniture, pottery, &c.

(3) Things which probably require a centralized national manufacture:

electricity, medical instruments, weights and measures, and other highly specialized articles.

The above lists mean as much as Marx's clumsy treatise.

By RONALD DUNCAN

NOW to clarify: (a) I am *not* advocating a life without luxury. I am not suggesting that we should live "like pigs." I am suggesting that if we cleared the sewers a bit, of all the waste articles, it would make room for luxury, luxury in article, luxury in its design, and luxury in the amount of time one could spend using it. The Middle Ages were much more luxurious than we are. Look at their music, painting, buildings, &c. The actual quality of life has deteriorated since Botticelli.

(b) A superficial critic would say that the above suggestions constituted an escape and a retrogression. As I put in an article somewhere else in this paper, a man who climbs out of a sewer is not simply an escapist. As for advocating a retrogression, that is not necessarily bad. Those who say it is a retrogression, should be careful to describe their own idea of progress. And besides, Time is a different thing from era.

There is the story of the drunkard whose excuse was that his nasty habit gave employment to the brewers. . . . Certainly, if we decentralize, millions will lose their job, their present job. Perhaps the population would decrease. I do not see any value in a quantity of humanity, it's the quality that matters. In the eighteenth century the population was 8 millions or so, but the quality was higher than it is now.

I am concerned with the Derbyshire collier whom I met at a meeting. He said: "If I don't join the Territorials I shall get the sack, and that means no grub." He joined the Territorials. I met the same collier later and gave him 10s. of vegetable seeds.

These did not make him self-sufficient, but they gave him just enough economic independence to resign from the Territorials, get the sack and not starve. Maybe if this collier learns to spin he won't need to look for another job down under. He's no escapist.

Churches Could Give Anti-War Lead

From Our Own Correspondent

Since the Christian Churches have now all agreed that war is a monstrous evil, and since they realize that war has been arraigned by the conscience of mankind as such, participation in it comes under the prohibition of things explicitly evil.

THIS was the argument used by Canon C. E. Raven, Regius Professor of Divinity to Cambridge University, at a London conference for clergy and ministers on "War and the Christian."

"To argue that 'war may be the lesser of two evils' does not modify that verdict," he continued.

"Once you know a thing is evil you may not, at your soul's peril, take part in it. The Churches have reached that point, it they are honest."

WANTED: A LEAD

"Sufficient evidence has been given of the deep-seated repudiation of war among the common folk of mankind to realize that, if sufficiently authoritative voices not only renounced war but called upon the peoples generally to renounce it, those fears of 'what might happen' would prove groundless."

"The Archbishop of Canterbury, for instance, might go to the Pope and say: 'We are faced with the absolute downfall of all we value; if, because of a totalitarian State, a world war breaks out, Britain would become a totalitarian State in a fortnight—and Christianity would be squashed right off the map, in this country as well as in others.'"

"Therefore, it behoves us in the name of Christ to leave no stone unturned, but to approach the heads of the Christian Churches and say we think they should insist that Christians must stand fast on this issue here and now."

During the discussion, the question was raised as to whether the movement should not be toward the congregation rather than the heads of the Churches; Canon Raven said he was strongly of this opinion; as chairman of two Christian pacifist movements he felt sure the strength of the movement should be evinced in the Churches, and through them, to the ordinary congregations.

Tackle the Economic Problem!

urges

Ben Greene

international cooperation or whether they should be advocated only as temporary expedients to meet an emergency. Certainly we should all agree that if the present surplus of production could be absorbed by an expansion of consumption that would be the best solution.

But such an expansion could hardly be accomplished in any short space of time and since speedy relief is essential, it is clearly in the common interest to find ways and means of controlling the anarchy of unregulated production which is ruining producers in all countries alike.

BRITISH ECONOMICS

We have in this statement the basis of present British economic policy. This policy shows itself in our so-called marketing schemes, quotas, tariffs, preferences, and financial agreements.

In addition the power and influence of the State are now used in support of trusts, combines, international cartels, producers' schemes, and financial control which are mostly outside the field of public discussion, but which are in fact more potent and far-reaching than the restriction schemes requiring legislative backing.

Raw materials, consumption goods, transport and other services are equally affected. Wheat, sugar, tea, milk, potatoes, fish, bacon, fruit, butter, coal, tin, rubber, copper, cotton, manganese, cement, are but a few of the commodities affected and there is in fact hardly an article one can name which is not subject to some form of output restriction.

TEMPORARY POLICY?

It may be argued that this is a temporary policy to meet a crisis. But the economic problem is not a temporary crisis. This mass output by mechanical and scientific means is a permanent feature of our age. There is in fact no talk now of temporary measures, and powerful vested interests have come into existence to maintain and uphold this restrictive policy.

There is in the economic policy of restriction a challenge to human rights which goes to the very roots of civilized progress. There is a challenge here to the peace of the world which cannot be left unanswered.

Restriction can be no more a means to universal prosperity than war can be a means to universal peace. The unemployment problem is a poverty problem and as such is the greatest social problem of our civilization.

Every nation is haunted by this fear of economic destitution. Even in this country, with all our resources, we have five million people living on the verge of starvation and twenty million with insufficient nourishment to maintain a minimum standard of health.

These nations and our own disendowed classes see in the restriction policy a vast system of exploiting human needs for private gain. To them Tantalus is not a legend but a living experience. To say smugly that these commodities, these rare and refreshing fruits are theirs for the payment of them can only intensify the feelings of frustration.

This is not the place to go into the question of the lack of purchasing power of nations and individuals. It is sufficient to point to the fact that these classes and these nations see the wealth of which they are in pressing need being restricted and destroyed. No peace system and no social system which permits such conditions can survive.

CHALLENGE NEEDED

To the believer in peace, in freedom, in progress, and in the ideals of social justice, uncompromising opposition to economic restriction only is possible. We have to challenge the belief that economic abundance can be achieved by artificial scarcity. Only on that challenge can we devise an economic policy which will lead to peace and human progress.

The mechanical mastery of our times has made possible the dreams and visions of humanity through the ages, a world of abundance and plenty in which a higher and nobler human destiny is possible. There can be only one solution to this economic problem and that is to end the misery and the suffering of the destitute millions of our fellow men by making available to them the rich abundance of our age.

There can be no compromise whatever between a policy of restriction and a policy of consumption.

John Barclay on HITCHING YOUR WAGGON

The Group
Secretary's
Weekly
Notes

IT seems to be my fate to step in where angels fear to tread. It has always been the same ever since I can remember. My eyes are always looking ahead and "seeing things" which other people tell me can only be obtained by counting the cost. The result is that I am constantly bumping into obstacles which, if I had only taken the advice so freely given, I should have seen and avoided.

My method has this advantage, however, that the unexpectedness of the bump surprises the obstacle as much as me and in most cases the mutual shock produces a reaction giving me the upper hand. For most obstacles are found to be much less difficult than when viewed from a distance and the fact that my eyes are still on the object ahead gives me an initial impetus which often carries me over, although often with some loss.

How far is this a practical method and to what extent is it foolish muddling?

Practical business men believe that only by working methodically on sound lines can we hope to succeed. My answer is to look round and attempt to assess the muddle created by "sound" business methods. The loss I see is incalculable and the progress they have made negligible, if not nil.

It is time we had some faith in the stars and made the effort to "hitch on our wagon." We have so much to gain that I, for one, am prepared to risk the cost.

The tremendous power that has already been generated within the PPU can be directed along new channels once we have plunged ahead and dug them. I am all for taking risks, believing that my vision is worth it. I may go under, then what of it? Someone will take my place.

I may be thought to be foolish, I probably am. I shall certainly discover new obstacles with a further careful survey might have anticipated, but I shall still have to get over them even if I wait to take their measure. Every minute is precious and our hopes are high.

The new effort required is easily within our scope, but it will mean that those of us who up till now have been satisfied to give with one hand must give with both.

When we think of the sacrifices that have been made in the past by those who went to prison or gave their fortunes for the woman's suffrage movement—of our own pioneers who suffered throughout the War—of those now in conscript countries who are facing death and poverty for the same ideals, it is not too much to ask ourselves to be prepared to do as much.

Only by such absolute and sustained devotion can we hope to establish peace on earth. To those who feel that this is but an echo of their thoughts and who are merely waiting for the concrete plan, I suggest each week a few of the many jobs waiting to be done.

Group News from the Four Corners

OUTLINING the objects of the PPU at a meeting in Upminster on December 14, George Lansbury said that "It will not be an easy thing to be a pacifist in wartime. It was not easy during the South African War, it was less easy during the Great War, and it is a very difficult thing to be a pacifist today, because of the bitter persecution, hatred and vileness with which war is being carried on, and the apparent triumph of injustice."

We were living, he said, through the most extraordinary revolutionary economic change mankind had ever experienced. Great Britain should take a lead and call other nations together, and see whether it was not possible to replan the world, in which everyone could have a share.

The Rev. Wilson Bridge, minister of Romford Congregational Church, said that the greatest benefactor in the world today was the peace-maker. But peace would never come of itself. It would have to be made by persistent, constant and sacrificial effort.

Cumberland Welcomes Rowntree Gillett

SPEAKING at a meeting in Whitehaven, Cumberland, organized by the local PPU group recently, J. Rowntree Gillett outlined the Quaker attitude towards war.

Were we safer for all our arms? he asked. Was there a feeling of confidence in the world? Gladstone once said, "Give the Defence Services their rein, and they will take you to the devil." Were his words not coming true today?

It might be said that if they refused to go to war they would be over-run by oppressor countries. Had they any guarantee that they would not be over-run if they did go to war?

Mr. J. Burlington, who presided, said that after the crisis there were services of thanksgiving. He must confess that he did not feel any heartiness in joining in them.

"We did not get peace by turning the other cheek," he said, "but by looking the other way when somebody else's cheek was being smacked." A play, *Symphony in Illusion*, was presented by the People's Theatre Guild.

Faversham's Chairman at Broadstairs

A MEETING held under the auspices of the Broadstairs Pacifist Group in the Baptist Hall, Broadstairs, recently was addressed by L. W. Lawley, chairman of the Faversham group of the PPU.

Making it clear that the policy of the PPU was "Turn the other cheek" and not "Might is right," Mr. Lawley said that pacifism was a natural way of life—war was unnatural. Pacifism was rooted in Christianity, and it was because men had forsaken God's way that there were wars.

If the people of this country were prepared to renounce armed defence entirely and to discipline themselves along some line of Gandhi's non-violent resistance, no power on earth could prevail against them.

"We have got to get rid of our 'funk' of Hitler," he said. "Deep down in the hearts of

MAURICE ROWNTREE

Owing to a slip the description "Honorary Secretary" of the PPU was given to Maurice Rowntree at the foot of a letter from him published on this page last week. He is, of course, Honorary Treasurer.

the majority of us we are in some sort of funk about Hitler."

What was needed was a sympathetic understanding of Hitler. They should have the courage to say "We have a lot of common problems we can solve together."

Stressing the need for a world conference, Mr. Lawley pointed out the necessity for adequate preparation beforehand, and said that they should not go into a world conference without a clear idea of what they were prepared to do for peace.

Headquarters "Invades" Peterborough

A WORLD peace conference was demanded by R. H. Ward and Nigel Spottiswoode, both from PPU headquarters, when they addressed a meeting in Peterborough.

Mr. Ward said that it might seem that a call for a peace conference in the present world was to ask for nothing but an echo, but as human beings could they not ask for a peace conference as a step to some kind of constructive effort to remove the causes of war?

It was no use, he said, talking about the frightfulness of war. What they could do to sabotage the war machine was to be human beings. Their one hope was to realize that if it was indecent to drop bombs on other human beings it was not their job to do it, however unpleasant it may be to refuse to do it.

Mr. Spottiswoode said that we had only just scraped through the last crisis without war, and if we went to sleep again behind an accelerated programme of rearmament, another crisis would inevitably come. Undoubtedly Hitler and possibly other countries would make another demand. This time it might be a demand that could only be met by an act on the part of this country—we might not be able to sacrifice someone else to Hitler.

Next time the demands might mean the choice of the clear-cut alternative of giving in to an armed threat or going to war. We had to meet these demands before they were backed up by armed force.

Mary Gamble at Nuneaton

ADDRESSING a meeting in Nuneaton, Miss Mary Gamble said that the setting up of a new world conference would do a great deal of good. They lived in a world of plenty, and it should be found out how the plenty could be redistributed among those in want.

This conference, she said, should be attended not only by representatives from the democracies, but also of communism and of dictatorship. Besides pressing for a world conference they could also help in the Jewish problem. They could press the Government to give a grant, together with the voluntary grants that were being made.

The meeting was organized by the local branches of the PPU and FOR. The Rev. F. W. Moyle was another speaker and Mr. S. R. Brett was in the chair.

Hampshire's Second One-Day School

THE second one-day school to be held by the Hampshire region in three months took place in Winchester on December 11. Nigel Spottiswoode took the school and the subject was "Imperialism."

Groups represented were: Winchester, Andover, Broughton, Eastleigh, Southampton, and Alton.

The Notice Board

Meetings

West Norwood group meets on second and fourth Tuesdays in Room 4, St. Luke's Church Hall (near tram terminus). Study circle (to study Gregg's *The Power of Non-Violence*), meets in members' houses in rotation—usually first and third Tuesdays.

Peckham.—Friends' Meeting House, Highshore Road, every Wednesday at 8 p.m.

Poster Parades

Special parades are to be held from headquarters, 96 Regent Street, W.1, on Tuesdays, at 6.30 p.m. and 8.15 p.m. and continuing until further notice.

"Peace News" Sellers Wanted

Tottenham.—Helpers are urgently required to sell *Peace News* and help at bookstall on Fridays from 6 p.m. outside the Friends' Meeting House, High Road.—Write to Hilda Butcher, 19 Greyhound Road, London, N.17.

Bradford.—Volunteers wanted every Saturday. Meet outside Brown and Muffs (Tyrell Street entrance) at 2.15 p.m. Names and addresses to J. Ibsen, Dale Garth, Daleside Road, Thornbury, Bradford.

Cardiff.—Sellers are badly needed. Come and do your bit, not leave it to a few! Taunton.—Volunteers each week. Apply Mrs K. Bryant, Levycroft Farm, Taunton.

Sheffield.—Every Friday between 6.30 p.m. and 8.30 p.m. at corner of Fargate and Leopold Street. Volunteers are asked to notify Geoffrey Pickup, 24 Stanley Road, Sheffield, 8, not later than the previous Monday.

Belfast.—Volunteers wanted for Friday evenings. Write Miss L. Brown, 56 Ulster Avenue, Belfast.

Miscellaneous

Newport.—Will anyone interested in the PPU get into touch with Mr. Miller, 243 Christchurch Road, Newport.

Wanted urgently, books for Peace Library. Can be left at Friends' Meeting House, Avenue Road, Bournemouth, any Monday from 7.30 p.m. to 9 p.m.

Bristol Pacifists Study Refugee Problem

CALLED by pacifist societies in Bristol, a conference on refugees was held in the Folk House, Bristol, on December 18, under the chairmanship of Mr. Harold Bing.

The work of the Austria Self-Help Committee was outlined by Dr. Maria Jahoda. The committee, she said, had been able to establish a hostel for 100 Austrian girls in London, who were willing to take up domestic service, and she hoped that a similar hostel might be established in Bristol. A camp had also been set up at Harwich for Austrian children.

Mr. Dennis Jones spoke of the work of the Committee for Czechoslovakian refugees. There were 152,000 people in Prague he said, who must be got out of the country soon. His committee was taking full legal responsibility for the refugees in this country, and would arrange for their subsequent emigration overseas.

The immediate necessity was to secure temporary hospitality for a few months, long enough for them to learn English and the rudiments of a useful trade.

A conference of refugees societies in Bristol will be held on January 20, with a view to setting up a joint body to co-ordinate local relief work and to organize a public appeal for help.

All offers of assistance should be sent to Miss Keen, 95 Kingsdown Parade, Bristol; Dr. Maria Jahoda, 18 Miles Road, Clifton; or Mr. Dennis Jones, 20 Royal York Crescent, Bristol.

Little Bromwich Group Meeting

THE next meeting of the Little Bromwich group will be held on January 7 at 7.30 p.m. at 444 Belchers Lane, Little Bromwich, Birmingham, 9—not at No. 44 as stated last week.

A member tells why

Nottingham Groups Know Not Poverty!

ARE all the groups free from financial difficulties? By that I mean, are their activities handicapped by lack of funds—are subscriptions few and far between and do they have to think twice before embarking on some propaganda campaign on the score of expense?

It may interest group leaders and treasurers to know that the PPU groups in the Nottingham Region have not known what it is to be short of funds since their subscription scheme was put into operation.

The regional funds are in a healthy state—and in addition to various subscriptions paid out during the year in which the scheme has been in operation, the Treasurer holds a useful fund for the establishment of a Peace Book Shop, another for current expenses, and he is about to send a quota payment of £12 to H.Q. for 1938, which, I anticipate, will be doubled next year.

What can be done in the groups and regions can be done nationally. If all groups adopt a scheme of this character, the assured income to H.Q., based on membership, will be over £15,000 per annum!

Headquarters now have full details of the Nottingham scheme which will be sent free to all interested members.

G. CHARLES BALDWIN,
Chairman, Nottingham Regional Groups.

74 Sherwin Road,
Lenton, Nottingham.

Gloucester Group Keeps Well Informed

A RECORD of meetings held by the Gloucester group since October shows that besides discussing "domestic" affairs, such as National Service and planning propaganda work, the group has arranged talks by well-informed speakers on three foreign countries.

A group member, Mrs. H. Goodman, who had recently visited Czechoslovakia, gave an interesting talk on that country; Mr. Bohar, a Hungarian resident in Gloucester, spoke on the history of his country and the spirit of its people; and M. Claude Cantinelli, a Frenchman, gave a review of pacifism in France.

At a meeting in the New Year the question of helping refugees and Czechs is to be taken up. The group has already decided to give every help in the establishment in Gloucester of a proposed home for German Jewish children.

Meetings of the Gloucester group are held in conjunction with the group of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Ashford's Petition Drive

A MINIMUM of 5,000 signatures to the National Petition for a new Peace Conference is given as the aim of the Ashford group in the December issue of the Ashford Group News.

Plans to secure them were laid at a recent meeting.

PEACE PLEDGE UNION 96 Regent St., London, W.1.

"THINGS WE WANT YOU TO KNOW" Dec. 30, 1938

Five New Illustrated Posters

LET JUSTICE turn the scale. Demand a World Conference	NO GREATER GLORY THAN PEACE	SILENCE THE GUNS FOR EVER	E A C P	PEACE BY DISCUSSION
No. 38 2d. each	No. 39 3d.	No. 40 3d.	No. 41 3d.	No. 42 3d.

NEW SERIES OF LEAFLETS

George Glasgow says: "Make sure of it now."
Havelock Ellis says: "We need our Pacifists."
Laurence Housman asks: "Christ or Caesar."

THE P.P.U. MANIFESTO, 1/- 100, 7/- 1,000

Forthcoming Events

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organizers of events to

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday.
2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organizers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

Tuesday, Jan. 3

LONDON, W.1; 7.45 p.m. Dick Sheppard Memorial Club, King's Weigh House; London Group Leaders' Meeting; PPU.
BAYSWATER; 8 p.m. Dick Sheppard Centre, 52 Queensway; Canon Stuart Morris on "What Hopes for the Future?"; PPU.

Wednesday, Jan. 4

LONDON, W.1; 8 p.m. 4 Fitzroy Street; W. B. Curry on "Education and the Liberal tradition"; Federation of Progressive Societies and individuals.
PLYMOUTH; 3 p.m. Hope Baptist Schoolroom; minister's conference; Canon Raven; PPU.

Thursday, Jan. 5

LONDON, E.C.4; 1.10 p.m. 13 Paternoster Row; Miss P. Ouwkerk on "The Flemish Peace Movement"; City PPU group.
LONDON, E.C.4; 5.30 p.m. 13 Paternoster Row; Andrew Stewart on "The Political Aspect of Conscience and the State"; City PPU group.
DAWLISH; 7.30 p.m. Town Hall; public meeting; Canon Raven; PPU.

Friday, Jan. 6

KINGSBRIDGE; 7.30 p.m. Town Hall; public meeting; Canon Raven; PPU.

Saturday, Jan. 7

ILFRACOMBE; 7.30 p.m. Greenclough Hall; public meeting; Canon Raven; PPU.

Sunday, Jan. 8

NEWTON ABBOT; 8.15 p.m. Imperial Cinema; Canon Raven and Rudolf Messell; PPU.

Monday, Jan. 9

BARNSTAPLE; 3 p.m. Guildhall; minister's conference; Canon Raven; PPU.
BARNSTAPLE; 7.30 p.m. Guildhall; public meeting; Canon Raven; PPU.

Wednesday, Jan. 11

GREENFORD; 8.15 p.m. Public Library; John Barclay on "Active and Constructive Pacifism"; PPU.

Thursday, Jan. 12

ABERDEEN; 8 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, 98 Crown Street; study circle; "Position of Women in Modern War"; introduced by Mrs. Grant; PPU.

Thurs. to Sat., Jan. 26 to 28

LONDON, N.W.1; Friends House, Euston Road; A conference on the Economic Road to Peace; Speakers: Archibald Crawford, Ben Greene and others; organized by W.1 group of PPU; details from the honorary organizer, Dick Sheppard Memorial Club, King's Weigh House, Thomas Street, London, W.1

On Tower Hill

THE City of London Group of the PPU have not allowed the weather to interrupt their weekly Wednesday meetings on Tower Hill. Arrangements have been completed for continuing the series at least until the end of January.

Last Wednesday Miss Sybil Morrison and Mr. Reece Walker addressed a very good crowd. Three dozen copies of *Peace News* were sold.

Next Wednesday Mr. Walker will again speak. He will be supported by Mr. Richard Bishop, of Wales. Future bookings are:

Jan. 11—Alan Harling.
18—Roy Walker.
Gerald Bailey.
25—Preston Benson.
Andrew Stewart.

Please hand this to your Newsagent

To
(Newsagent's name)

Please deliver "PEACE NEWS" to me weekly.

Name

Address

as from issue dated.....

Note to Newsagent:—

"PEACE NEWS" is published weekly as a National Newspaper at the retail price of 2d. It is obtainable by your wholesaler at the usual rates from the Publishers at 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

What does PPU stand for?

I. HOW IT BEGAN

THE Peace Pledge Union dates from the day when Dick Sheppard invited all men who felt as he did to write to him stating that they renounced war and would never again participate in one.

The immediate response was overwhelming, and every day since then pledge cards have come in, the total having now reached some 123,000. At first the movement had been confined to men, but when the signatures of women were asked for there was once more an immediate response. By reason of its numerical and moral strength, this venture has become a national movement, and it is linked with the world movement by its affiliation to the War Resisters' International.

Dick Sheppard asked some leading men and women to join him as Sponsors. Practically all of them were subsequently elected at the movement's first Annual General Meeting, and today the Sponsors are: George Lansbury, M.P., Canon Stuart Morris, Maurice L. Rowntree, John Barclay, Harold F. Bing, Miss Vera Brittain, H. Runham Brown, the Rev. Henry Carter, Miss Mary Gamble, Dr. A. Herbert Gray, Laurence Housman, James H. Hudson, Aldous Huxley, Miss Storm Jameson, J. Middleton Murry, Humphrey S. Moore, Capt. Philip Mumford, Max Plowman, Lord Ponsonby, Canon C. E. Raven, Bertrand Russell, Dr. Alfred Salter, MP, Siegfried Sassoon, Dr. Donald O. Soper, Miss E. Thorneycroft, Wilfred Wellock, Dr. Alex. Wood, and Arthur Wragg.

The headquarters are at 96 Regent Street, London, W.1. The President is George Lansbury, M.P., the Treasurer, Maurice L. Rowntree, the Chairman (and secretary), Canon Stuart Morris, and the Group Organizer, John Barclay.

Give your pledge on a postcard:—
I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another.
Sign this, add your address, and send the card to PPU headquarters

A P.P.U. Member Urges

LESS ORGANIZATION & MORE BOLD ACTION

To the Editor of "Peace News."
DURING the past eighteen months the Peace Pledge Union, despite its growth, experiments, and new departures, has not changed its form nor its methods. Yet such a movement as ours, if its spirit is to live, must be in a state of constant and incalculable change.

We are becoming too much an introverted organization, too little a fluid union. The emphasis everywhere is on organization. Old friends have been anxious to tell me, not what they've done in their groups, but how efficiently they've organized themselves.

Pacifists are still flocking to their own public meetings to listen to their own speakers and glow in the comfortable warmth of a sympathetic meeting when they could be far better employed during that hour or two carrying the word in any form into the wilderness outside.

An organization must be "on a firm basis" and be "financially sound." To this end the PPU is digging in, erecting a cage of rules and safeguards, preaching caution. We are becoming afraid to make big decisions, to take any chances.

We are afraid, on the one hand, of admitting that we are primarily propagandists and getting on with the job from every soap-box in the country. We are afraid, on the other hand, to launch out into any more concrete scheme. We are misusing that passive command: "Resist not evil," for we are up against a national policy of evil which is being done, not to us, but in our names, for us. It is therefore our right and duty to resist and oppose it to the full.

Constructive Proposals

Our pacifist education during the past months has now brought many of us to the point, still adolescent, where we have a mania for constructive proposals. I believe that this is now being vastly over-stressed and is obscuring our main objects. We have to change the direction in which the mind of the man-in-the-street works.

Certainly our constructive proposals should always be mentioned, grouped in the background to be interposed in every gap created where an old idea is destroyed. But if we are to be realists we must face up to our primary job of the moment, which is to oppose our national policy and the national mentality behind it. Individually and collectively we have to pick up the mantle of opposition, so ignominiously dropped by the Labour Party, so shamefully shunned by

the Christian Churches, and wear it with a swagger.

I call on the Sponsors and Headquarters to turn their attentions away from internal organization back to national propaganda, large-scale activities and gestures. The faith of the individual PPU members has given them the power to make quick decisions, to take chances, to do big things.

Groups, get more outside yourselves, go to that man-in-the-street, challenge his thoughts, jolt his mental complacency.

In the army they taught me seven principles of war, one of which was concentration—the massing of superior force against the most vulnerable point in the enemy's position.

We would do well to learn this lesson. We have learnt that, in the last analysis, pacifism is a complete way of life, an all-embracing philosophy, and in the thrill of this gradual discovery we have lost sight of our immediate objective, which is to stop war, particularly the next one.

Special Campaigns

I should like to see one member of the headquarters staff as a "campaign manager" who would run one campaign after another, issuing special literature, directing the public meetings. And if anyone is now accusing me of further organization, may I point out that I am not suggesting any extra member on the headquarters staff.

As for practical action—again, concentration. Big, bold, immediate action to be decided on by the Sponsors is what we need.

We profess a faith in humanity and in the goodness of pacifist method. If we believe that, then the chances we take are but superficial, we are really gambling with a certainty and our apparent insecurity is but imaginary.

Let us try then the big way, the free way—call it indiscreet, dangerous if you like, but it's the way "Dick" would have had it.

—DAVID SPECKLEY

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PERSONAL

GERMAN GIRL at present in London en route for USA implores guarantee for parents still in Germany, also having affidavits for USA; relatives, unable to give official guarantee, will bear costs. References.—Evor Falhenfeld, 60 Oxford Gardens, London, W.10.

SITUATION

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PACIFIST (40), sentenced to two years' imprisonment as C.O. in last war, member of PPU, unemployed 11 months, seeks work, any capacity. Will any sympathizer offer same?—Box 143, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

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A Blackpool correspondent, R. S. Baxter, suggests that this would be a useful propaganda method for Peace Pledge Union groups to undertake, and adds:

"I cannot help but feel that a recipient of *Peace News* each week must, sooner or later, be influenced by its contents. The leaders are the people we should make it our business to take care of. If they just will not attend our meetings, we must go to them with literature. "Organized permeation after this fashion is inexpensive and is bound to bring forth some fruit. There is nothing 'offensive' about it, either."

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"Peace Hath Her Heroes"

FOR a display of peace-time heroism Ernest William Kent has been awarded the Edward Medal by the King.

While working as a labourer at Hackney Wick Stadium, London, Mr. Kent volunteered to be lowered head first down a cylinder only 15 inches wide and driven more than 15 feet into the ground, to rescue a work-mate who had collapsed owing to gas. He was unsuccessful at first, being hauled back in a state of semi-collapse and bleeding from the mouth.

Nothing daunted, he made a second attempt, and was able to hold the other man until both could be reached by helpers at the top of the cylinder, when he collapsed.

He risked becoming jammed in the cylinder at a depth which might have made release impossible, while the danger of suffocation was indicated by the fact that the man he rescued was dead on arrival at hospital.

A Pacifist Commentary

Sir John Anderson's A.R.P. Plans : : Italy and France--Will Chamberlain Mediate?

HAVING made plans for dealing with the dangers of poison gas and incendiary bombs, said Sir John Anderson in Parliament last week, "we must now address ourselves to the task of providing equal protection against the danger of the high-explosive bomb."

If the other measures only provide "equal protection" to that of the air raid shelters he went on to discuss, the outlook for the civilian population in the event of war is grim indeed.

When describing the various places in which shelters should be built (workshops, streets, and private dwellings) Sir John declared that "all who can afford to do so will be expected to arrange for their own protection, but the Government will see that all necessary technical advice and guidance is made available to them."

Enlightenment is urgently needed as to the standard to be applied in judging whether people can afford to arrange their own protection.

In reply to a question from Mr. George Lansbury, Sir John admitted that the scheme "does not contemplate provision against what would be regarded as a direct hit by high explosive." He said that Mr. Lansbury was "quite right" in stating that "there is no provision [in the scheme] for protection if a high explosive bomb drops in the middle of one of a very big block of dwellings."

Prerogative of the Rich

Later Mr. Lansbury urged that if the Government believed war may come they should evacuate now the people in the East End.

Neither he nor any pacifist would, of course, admit war to be inevitable; the Government, however, must at least have considerable apprehension, otherwise it would presumably not bother about shelters. Sir John offered to put at Mr. Lansbury's disposal the advice on the question of evacuation that had been given him by advisers who had made inquiries for him.

But Mr. Lansbury countered by asking if he knew that a Home Office inspector who visited the district in question "said there was no chance for any of the people, except by evacuating at least eighty per cent of them."

Sir John was "not aware of it." "I am telling you now," said the East End spokesman.

It seems then, that evacuation is expected to be the prerogative of those who can afford to lease accommodation in the West Country, while shelters will protect the remainder of the population against splinters.

It is interesting to recall that during the crisis not even that much "protection" was available for the mass of the people. We were not ready—and there was no war. Will Sir John's shelters be ready by the time the next crisis breaks?

Chance for Chamberlain

WORSENING relations between France and Italy were marked last week by the action of the Italian Government in informing the French Government that the French-Italian Agreement of January 7, 1935, must be regarded as null and void. Italy, it appears, expects France to submit fresh proposals for an agreement; in Paris, however, it is felt that Italy should do this.

Whatever grievances Italy may have against France, will not easily be settled in an atmosphere poisoned by propaganda and accusations. The situation offers possibilities for the exercise of that conciliation which Mr. Chamberlain claims as a part of his policy.

He has publicly praised Signor Mussolini for using his influence with Herr Hitler during the September crisis. Will Mr. Chamberlain himself use his influence to persuade Signor Mussolini that the right course for Italy is to ask France to discuss outstanding grievances? Until settlement by discussion has been attempted Italy should refrain from action likely to embitter the atmosphere. Will Mr. Chamberlain point this out when he is in Rome?

THE demonstrations by the unemployed in London have certainly been spectacular. The squatting in Oxford Street, the invasion of the Ritz and the caroling party for Lord Rushcliffe have at least made the headlines and focused public attention on the plight of this vast section of our community whose privations are at their most cruel at this season of the year.

There may be a clue to the striking vigour and originality of these protests in the fact that some of the men's leaders have just returned from fighting with the International Brigade in Spain. Men who have become accustomed to the daily excitement and hectic activity engendered by war could hardly be expected to relapse suddenly into indolence on their return to this country. It will be not very remarkable if they take up the unemployed struggle where it was abandoned some time ago, and open a new period of mass demonstrations, hunger marches and the like.

They have begun well. If their patience and originality are maintained they may achieve some amelioration of their lot. Certainly there is no danger that under the present Government they will ever be without just grounds for the most bitter and unrelenting complaint.

French Socialists' Vote

BY 4,322 votes the French Socialist Party congress agreed on Tuesday to M. Blum's motion for intensified national defence and the maintenance of anti-fascist alliances. There were 1,014 absentions.

It was significant, however, that a motion put forward by M. Paul Fauré, advocating negotiation at any price, received 2,837 votes. Would such a large minority vote for a policy of negotiation if a similar motion came before our own Labour Party?

In June a French Socialist Party congress decided by 4,872 votes to 3,165 to support M. Daladier for the time being. On that occasion the split resulted in the formation of the Workers' and Peasants' Socialist Party. This time, however, M. Fauré, who is the Socialist Party's secretary, has declared that he and his friends will observe the traditional Socialist discipline.

Indians Condemn New Film

Whatever may be the dramatic qualities of the film *Drums*, which depicts life on the North-West Frontier of India, many Indians do not like it. Those who have seen the picture without realizing its political and social connotations should be interested to note the following condemnation, passed at one of many recent public meetings: "The film . . . justifies the aggressive policy of British imperialism against the freedom-loving and independent tribes of the N. W. Frontier and depicts the Frontier people as treacherous, wiley and ferocious, and the British as the saviours of humanity, thereby insulting the national sentiments and religious feelings of the Indians.—Nofrontier News Service.

BRITISH RULE MUST CONTINUE

(continued from page 1)

the administration, police, transport, public work and native welfare services in the Colonies to the immense advantage and progress of all the inhabitants.

As to accusations of exclusiveness or of attempts to run these countries solely for our own advantage, it is high time that the world should know first that any foreigner of good character may settle in these countries and have precisely the same economic and other advantages as our own settlers; secondly, that in no single case do we secure any advantages in the products of those countries since no export duty is imposed on any products leaving their shores. They are as available to the whole world as to ourselves.

We have every right to monopolize these products for our own use if we so desire but we deny ourselves this right and give the world equal access to raw materials and foodstuffs with no discrimination whatever in our own favour. Could any international body do better for mankind?

With regard to imports, we are surely entitled to ask some small protection to our manufactures in return for the immense cost of defence which we bear on our shoulders, but in two-thirds of the Colonial Empire, measured by population, we give absolute equality of entry to the whole world.

Here is evidence as to how Great Britain treats the outside world in the Colonial markets, which is surely conclusive as to our Colonial contribution to peace and world content:—

	1937
British Colonies and Protectorates:	£
Imports from the United Kingdom	60,940,000
Imports from Foreign Countries	129,362,000
British Mandated Territories:	
Imports from the United Kingdom	4,145,000
Imports from Foreign Countries	16,659,000
So much for the material side. What of the moral?	

I BELIEVE I am right in saying that no serious body of people in this or any other country had suggested that Great Britain should cease directly to administer her Colonies until certain totalitarian States began to make expansionist demands.

Only then did some, in the emotion of the moment, imagine that the transfer of British territories to some ephemeral international body would satiate their needs and placate their desires. Unfortunately for these advocates, the dictator Powers have made it plain that this proposal gives them no satisfaction whatever.

In any case, the world is inclined when it can to consider the rights of the inhabitants before disposing of their lives or bartering them in the market even for peace. What British Colony or Protectorate has ever asked to be forced out of its present protection in order to be placed in the precarious position of, shall we say, Danzig?

Where is there any evidence that the natives seek such a gamble with their lives or that they would contemplate with any

pleasure being wrested from the care of Great Britain with her long experience of Colonial administration and placed under that of representatives of States who have no knowledge of such forms of Government?

The extraordinary, spontaneous outburst of the native inhabitants of Tanganyika, South-West Africa, Uganda and the Cameroons at the mere suggestion of lowering the British flag in those countries ought to make any man pause before he plays chess with human lives, and surely it is hardly moral to advance these proposals unless there is some demand for their consideration.

There is, however, a more fundamental reason why such a policy should be buried for good. These Colonies are deeply rooted in the systems of justice and freedom associated with British rule. The inhabitants in many cases are more attached to British institutions even than some people in our own country, and to enforce expulsion willy-nilly can hardly be described as a work of peace.

I do not know what Scotland, Wales, Ulster, or the Isle of Wight would say if

THE VIEWS OF CONTRIBUTORS MUST NOT BE ASSUMED TO REPRESENT THE POLICY OF "PEACE NEWS" OR OF THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION.

any of them were, without their request, much less their leave, told that in order to promote sweet reason in the minds of Dictators, they would be handed over to a Tower of Babel to be controlled in the glorious name of Internationalism.

Would this lead to peace, or would it not inevitably lead to sanguinary war?

We have no more right to expel the inhabitants of a British Colony anywhere than those British subjects who happen to be near to the slave market where their future would be disposed of.

The British Empire is a trust for the whole of our race, a trust which is on the whole nobly fulfilled. To abandon that trust would be an ill service to peace; it would be a cruel betrayal of people who look to us to honour our pledge of protection, and it ignores the fact that once a nation abandons the defence of its subjects and places their fate in the hands of an international body, it is nobody's interest to protect them and inevitably they fall easy prey to the strong.

History has made that clear, and recent history makes any people dread the possibility of its sacrifice to placate aggressors, knowing full well that, undefended, they become the victim of greed and that freedom vanishes from their land.

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ON PAGE 11.

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